



The Harbor of St. Francis

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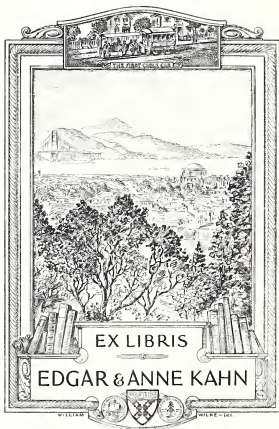


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For my friend

Mr. Dodman

1  
The W. R. 15m.

Autograph

Jan. 1928.



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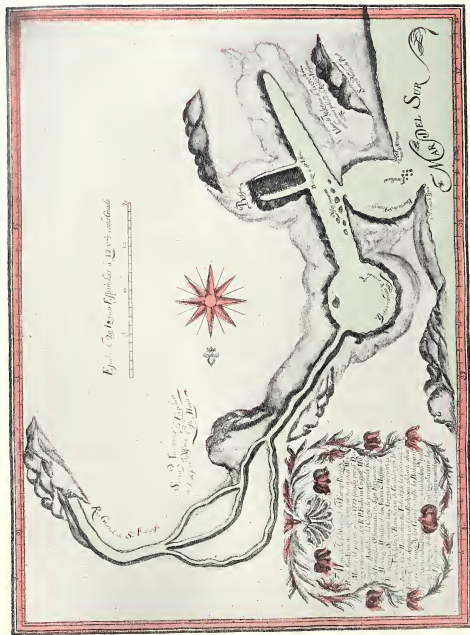












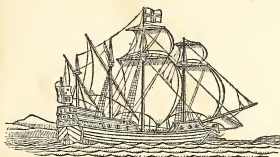
# THE CRESPI MAP

This is a copy of the original map drawn by Crespi in 1772 delineating his survey of the Bay of San Francisco

THE  
HARBOR  
OF  
St. Francis

FRANCIS DRAKE LANDS IN A FAIR AND  
GOOD BAY NEAR NORTH LATITUDE  $38^{\circ}$ ;  
also a narration of the arguments advanced by  
certain historians in their selection of "*The Harbor  
of St. Francis*" together with a relation of the  
Spanish discovery of the Bay of San Francisco by

J. W. ROBERTSON



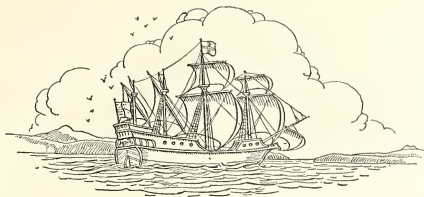
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## The Harbor of St. Francis

*An account of Drake's landing near latitude 38°, together  
with Cermeño's visit to this coast, and the dis-  
covery of the Golden Gate and of  
the "Lost Port" by  
Fages.*



IN THE year 1579 Francis Drake, in his hundred-ton vessel, the GOLDEN HINDE, visited the coast of California and, near lat. 38°, he found a "*faire and good baye*" where he landed, beached, repaired and cleaned his vessel, and built a fort in which he stored his treasure and food supplies. Here he met and had friendly intercourse with the Indians who inhabited the adjacent coast, visited the interior country, and investigated the fauna and flora indigenous to this land. So pleased was he with this harbor and the territory adjacent to it that he annexed this country to the crown of England under the name "Nova Albion."

To locate definitely this HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS, if I may so name it, has been attempted by many of our local historians. No selection has resulted in a choice that, after disinterested study, can be considered so fully proved as to be beyond controversy. This is due to the fact that in all

*Drake's  
narrative given  
to Queen  
Elizabeth*

narratives that have come down to us, the descriptions are so scanty and the location given is so briefly mentioned that specific topographical details are lacking. The various harbors named have been proved to be the result of personal preference rather than a selection based on authentic data.

The official narrative drawn up by Drake, and the colored maps he is known to have made illustrating this voyage were given to Queen Elizabeth; also the log-book he kept which contained the sailing data. Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese pilot who was captured by Drake early in his voyage and who became his chief pilot when passing through the Strait of Magellan, testified, when questioned by the Inquisitors, that Drake spent much of his time closeted with his nephew, John Drake, and that they delineated the coast line and sketched from nature.

*Zelia Nuttall's  
New Light on Drake,  
page 303*

Francis Drake kept a book in which he entered his navigation and in which he delineated birds, trees and sea-lions. He is an adept in painting and has with him a boy, a relative of his, who is a great painter. When they both shut themselves up in his cabin they were always painting.

This statement is confirmed by Francisco de Zarate, a Spanish nobleman whom Drake captured in his own ship, and who gave an interesting account of his personal impressions of Drake.

*Ibid, page 207*

He also carries with him painters who paint for him pictures of the coast in its exact colours. This I was most grieved to see, for each thing is so naturally depicted that no one who guides himself according to these paintings can possibly go astray.

That these notes and paintings passed into the hands of Queen Elizabeth is proved by a letter now in the British Museum written to Philip II by the Spanish Ambassador Mendoza, dated October 16th, 1580.

*Ibid, page 303*

Drake has given the Queen a diary of everything that happened to him during the three years he was away.

This personal narrative and log-book of Drake has been lost; even the contemporary accounts of this voyage, which must have been circulated, cannot be found. The first authentic narration was contained in the 1598-1600 edition



of Hakluyt published twenty years after Drake returned to England.

Hakluyt's first work "*Divers Voyages Touching the Discoveries of America*" published in 1582, two years after the completion of "the Famous Voyage," makes no mention of this circumnavigation, nor did the "*Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries, &c.*," issued nine years after Drake's return, refer to this voyage. The nine elapsed years gave Hakluyt ample time to gather the facts and Drake's presence in England during this period gave him opportunity for personal interrogation. That this voyage deserved recognition cannot be questioned. This was the second world circumnavigation and the first in which the commander returned in the vessel in which he sailed. In addition, the enormous treasure that Drake brought home, the marvels related of the unknown world he visited, the notoriety of his piratical warfare on the Spanish cities and commerce in the South Sea, the gracious reception given him, and the reward of knighthood conferred by Elizabeth, accentuated the completion of an exploration that had brought riches and glory to the English Nation. It stood out so pre-eminently over all other voyages of those days that ever since that time it has been referred to as "the Famous Voyage."

Hakluyt, as a part of his title, professed to relate:

The Voyages, Nauigations, Traffiques, and discoveries of the *English Nation* . . . performed within and before these hundred yeeres to all parts of the *Newfound* world of America.

It contained not only English narratives but Hakluyt searched the records of all nations who sailed these seas, whether they were Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, Dutch or other explorers; yet he gave no relation of Drake's circumnavigation nine years after its completion.

The only possible explanation is that this was omitted by order of Queen Elizabeth that she might not unduly antagonize the Spanish King, Philip II. The nations were nominally at peace and Philip was her brother-in-law.

In many copies of the 1589 Hakluyt there has been inserted a half dozen leaves giving a relation of the Drake

*Hakluyt's  
omission of the  
Famous  
Voyage*

*Surreptitious  
insertion of the  
narrative of  
the north Pacific  
voyage*

voyage after the GOLDEN HINDE left the South Sea, the incidents of her voyage along the Coast of California, and the story of their reception in the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS. This insertion has been a bibliographical puzzle impossible to solve. These six leaves are placed between pages 643 and 644 of the 1589 Hakluyt, but they are not found in all copies. These sheets are not numbered and they bear no relation to the contents of the regularly numbered pages between which they were inserted; nor in this well indexed volume are the contents of these leaves referred to. The inference is that they were printed for unofficial insertion; being placed between the same pages justifies the deduction that they were inserted before the book was bound. This is borne out by the fact that in the Templeton Crocker copy, still in its original binding, there is no change in the placing of this insert.

The 1589 Hakluyt is prefaced by an "Address to the Reader" in which this omission is thus explained:

To anticipate or prevent another mans paines and charges in drawing all the ser-  
vices of that worthie Knight into one volume, I have peelded unto those my freindes  
which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedings,  
to those intended discourses.

This surreptitious insertion of merely that part of the account detailing the portion of the homeward voyage after they left New Spain, mainly devoted to those incidents relating to their discovery of, and their residence in, the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS, is not satisfactorily explained by this prefatory note. At the time this extract was published a brief narrative of the entire voyage was in Hakluyt's possession for, comparing it with the 1600 edition, it is found to be a verbatim excerpt from the completed voyage. There seems to have been a better reason than the one assigned for Hakluyt not publishing the facts of Drake's raid on Spanish commerce.

Queen Elizabeth asserted her prerogative as a censor and did not hesitate to suppress entire historical passages when it was for her advantage or to her fancy. In this 1600 Hakluyt she forced the suppression of "*The Voyage to Cadiz*" after it was published, and to get the Hakluyt containing this narrative is a bibliographical prize.

If a full narrative was in preparation, as Hakluyt intimates, it was never published. No possible reason for delay of so important a relation, and for the suppression of Drake's personal narrative and log book with his colored paintings, can be suggested further than a disinclination on the part of Elizabeth to have her share in this undertaking publicly acknowledged.

No  
topographical  
data for the  
selection of  
this  
harbor

Because the authoritative relation of Drake was suppressed and is now lost, and by reason of the fact that the descriptions that have survived are in no way specific, except as to the degree of latitude in which this bay is located, long and acrimonious discussions have given rise to so many varying judgments as to make it evident that, unless Drake's own maps are found, no solution of this problem is possible.

In addition to the Hakluyt statement there is one other guide worthy of credence. In the year 1628, forty-eight years after Drake's return, his nephew and heir, also named Francis Drake, published "*The World Encompassed*." According to its title-page, it was:

Collected out of the Notes of Master Francis Fletcher, preacher in this employment, and diuers others his followers in the same :

Francis Fletcher was the ship-chaplain who accompanied Drake in the GOLDEN HINDE. He kept voluminous notes of the voyage and some of these survive to the present time. Unfortunately those relating to the stay of the GOLDEN HINDE in the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS have been lost, but a comparison of that portion still extant, published by Vaux in his reprint of "*The World Encompassed*," indicates that many facts related by Fletcher were exaggerated and that his statements were untrustworthy. A comparison of what has survived with the same incidents related in "*The World Encompassed*" proves that Francis Drake, its editor, consulted the notes of "divers others" and by no means followed, in all his relations, Fletcher's "Notes."

Even forty-eight years after the return of the GOLDEN HINDE there were survivors, for only the young and the physically strong would have enrolled with Drake on such

*John Drake  
falls into  
the hands of the  
Inquisitors*

a voyage. The Hakluyt account of 1600, which is a verbatim reprint of the 1589 insert, makes scant reference to the topography of the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS. "*The World Encompassed*" is even briefer. However, these narratives corroborate each other in the minutest details and, as explanatory of the course followed by the GOLDEN HINDE after leaving Guatulco, the last of the Spanish ports raided in the South Sea, will be quoted.

In this connection one other narrative should be mentioned. It is that of John Drake who accompanied Francis Drake on his circumnavigation and who has been referred to as the youth who assisted in drawing maps. Three years after Drake's return this youth, together with other companions who had been in Drake's confidence, accompanied the Fenton expedition, possibly sent to colonize NOVA ALBION.

Either accidentally or by treachery John Drake fell into the hands of the Spaniards and was "questioned" in an auto-da-fé held by the Inquisition. He was required under compulsion to give an account of the Drake voyage. This so-called "Declaration" was made three years after the return of the GOLDEN HINDE, and a copy from the records of the Inquisition has come down to us among other statements of prisoners who were likewise interrogated. It is of value as being the first authentic statement of the voyage, for it was made only three years after this voyage had been completed. While it contained much that is found in the other narratives mentioned, it omitted important details that would have proved irritating to Spain.

Both Hakluyt and "*The World Encompassed*" definitely fix the latitude at or near 38°. Later surveys made by the United States Coast Survey show that all latitudes named both by Drake and the Spanish explorers along the Pacific Coast are in error because of uncorrected and crude instruments and inaccurate methods of observation.

Even so, the general topographical data, and the placing of the Farallones or, as the English called them, the "Islands of St. James," just without the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS, make it evident that one of the five bays in the vicinity of

38 degrees must have held the GOLDEN HINDE during her six weeks of refitting.

The description of the bay in which Drake landed is meager and without details. Hakluyt states that they coasted southward from an unknown latitude:

Till wee came within 38 degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Baye with a good winde to enter the same."

"*The World Encompassed*" still more briefly relates:

In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a convenient and fit harborough, and June 17. came to anchor therein.

Using "*The World Encompassed*" and the anonymous Hakluyt narrative as the basis of the extracts, I will reproduce as much as is required to give a general idea of the conditions found in the port in which the GOLDEN HINDE was overhauled as it relates to the safety of the harbor and to their interior explorations, as well as to the political significance of the annexation of the territory adjacent to their anchorage.

Both of these accounts are so confirmatory of each other as to paraphrase the events related, although "*The World Encompassed*" amplifies and minutely details matters only generally referred to by Hakluyt. Much space is given to the adventures of Drake and his companions during the six weeks' stay in this port, especially as to their intercourse with the natives, as well as to the explorations that they made of the adjacent country.

After relating the main events of their circumnavigation and briefly referring to the capture of Spanish vessels and the sacking of Spanish cities in the South Sea, these narrations circumstantially detail the voyage from Guatulco on the Oajaca coast, and describe the attempt to reach England through a north-east passage that was believed to connect the Pacific Ocean with Hudson Bay, known as the "Strait of Bacallaos," or Codfish Strait. They may have sailed as far north as 48°, possibly reaching the southern coast of Alaska. However, this northward limit is uncertain and the general statements found in the existing accounts have led to a controversy between English and American writers, principally arising from arguments in the

*Drake's Harbor*  
near

Latitude 38°

Appendix

Appendix

*The  
Golden Hinde  
seeks  
Anchorage  
in Latitude 48°*

settlement of the boundary line separating British America from the United States.

Because of fog, rain and overcast weather, as both statements agree, no accurate observations were possible and we must be content with the general assertion that, after finding the land continually trending westward and unable to find the strait for which they were seeking, they turned southward. They state that their first halting place was in 48°. Finding the bay dangerous, they left and coasted southward, seeking for a suitable harbor in which to grave and refit their vessel. This search brought them as far south as 38° before they found a harbor safe enough to beach their vessel and to remove her cargo said to have been composed of gold, silver, jewels and other treasures taken from the Spaniards. Prof. George Davidson places Drake's northern limit at 42° and he has selected the Chetco harbor, the northern limit of California, as his first landing. However, he makes these statements on his individual authority.

THE GOLDEN HINDE was a small vessel of 100 tons, 80 to 100 feet long. According to "*The World Encompassed*," it drew "thirteene foote" of water. In size it may be compared to the pilot boats that rendezvous near the Farallones. "*The World Encompassed*" thus describes the course they took on their homeward sail:

Appendix

From Guatulco we departed the day following, viz. April 16, setting our course directly into the sea: whereupon we sailed 500. leagues in longitude to get a winde: and between that and June 3, 1400. leagues in all, till we came into 42. deg. of North latitude, where in the night following, we found such alteration of heat, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine. . . . The 5. day of June wee were forced by contrary winds, to run in with the shoare, which we then first descryed: and to cast anchor in a bad bay; the best road we could for the present meet with: where we were not without some danger by reason of the many extreame gusts and flaws that beat upon us; which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission, there followed most vile, thick and stinking fogs; against which the sea prevailed nothing. . . . From the height of 48.de. in which now we were, to 38. we found the land by coasting along it to be but low and reasonable plaine.

In 38. deg. 30. min. wee fell within a convenient and fit harborough and June 17. we came to anchor therein: where we continued till the 23. day of July following. . . . The 3. day following, viz., the 21.

our ship having received a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neer the shoare, that her goods being landed, she might be repaired. . . . Our generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary provision to build tents and make a fort for the defence of ourselves and goods.

Hakluyt's narrative corroborates the statements found in "*The World Encompassed*."

The 5. day of June, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arcticke, we found the ayre so colde, that our men being grieuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it well for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.

John Drake's "Declaration," made in an auto-da-fé held by the Inquisition for the purpose of interrogating him, corroborates the other accounts:

Then they left [Guatulco] and sailed, always on a wind, in a north-west and north-north-westerly direction, for a thousand leagues until they reached forty-four degrees when the wind changed and he went to the Californias where he discovered land in forty-eight degrees. There he landed and built huts and remained for a month and a half. . . . Here he caulked his large ship and left the ship he had taken in Nicaragua.

Hakluyt thus describes their reception by the native Indians:

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondred at the things wee had brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary: the presents they sent to our Generall, were feathers and calles of networke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the uttermost brimme of the circle, cliffs of wood set upon them ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire in the midst. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and seruicable to their husbands.

The wickiups—*debris* of logs, brush and trees bound to-

*The  
Inquisitors  
question  
John Drake*

Appendix

Appendix

Drake  
crowned king of  
Noua Albion

gether at the apex and stuffed with whatever would keep out the wind, open at the top to allow the egress of smoke—are now found along the coast wherever the vagrant “Diggers” congregate for fishing.

Their official reception by the King, supported by his nobles and counsellors, is detailed at great length, as well as the worshipful attitude and the attempts of the natives to deify them.

Appendix

The newes of our being there being spread through the Countrey, the people who inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of goodly stature & comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men; before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was coming, in doing of which message their speach was continued about halfe an houre. . . . In the forefront was a man of goodly personage, who bare a scepter or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a maruelous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few of the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12 &c. Next unto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Conie skins, and other skins. . . . When they had satisfied themselves they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made severall, orations or rather supplications, that hee would take their province and kingdome in his hand, and become their King making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which, to perswade us the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name *WIOI*, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought it not meete to reject, because he knew not what honour and profite it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and for the use of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might be so conueniently transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in y<sup>r</sup> same.

There was method in Drake's acceptance of these offerings of friendship, although he might have overestimated the gifts and misunderstood the significance that should have been attached to such tokens. That he did accept in good faith with, possibly, designs for future occupancy, seems to be borne out by the fact that after his return to England he was appointed by Queen Elizabeth Governor of certain lands that he expected to colonize.

Hakluyt relates:



## The Harbor of St. Francis

II

*Explorations  
in the  
inland country*

The Generall called this Countrey Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth heere to bee taken up, wherein there is not some possible shew of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed upon a faire and great poste, whereupon was ingraven her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arruall there, with the free giuing up of the province and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, whereunder also was written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer discover the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

Drake and his men travelled into the interior and Hakluyt recorded some of the wonders they found.

Our necessarie business being ended, our Generall with his company trauailed up into the Countrey to their villages, where we found herdes of Deere by 1000, in a company, being most large, and fat of body. We found the whole Countrey to be a warren of a strange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bignesse as be the Warbery Connies, their heades as the heades of ours, the feete of a Mant, and the tale of a Rat being of great length; under her chinne is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their kings coate was made of them.

Appendix

That these travellers reported their observations so accurately, gives credence to their narratives, however exaggerated these tales grew in the telling.

The bands of elk that our earliest settlers described as grazing by thousands in the hills and valleys along the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers and tule swamps, tally with the Hakluyt description; but the "connies," supposed to be ground squirrels, have given rise to argument in the localization of Drake's anchorage. Students of natural history assert that these are not found in the coast region north of the Bay of San Francisco or in Marin County.

English writers have assumed that the location of the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS was identical with the Bay of San Francisco and that the discovery of this bay can be rightly claimed by Drake.

The Spanish have never conceded the fact that a harbor,

Professor  
Kroeber  
localizes the  
Indians  
described in the  
Narratives

so close to their well known harbors of refuge, could have been discovered while, to them, it remained the "Lost Port."

So far as any conclusion can be drawn from the varying and indefinite narratives that localize the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS, which are our only guides, that portion of the coast line lying adjacent to latitude  $38^{\circ}$  must contain the bay in which the GOLDEN HINDE was refitted. Certain students of Drake's voyage have questioned this localization and have given latitude  $48^{\circ}$  as the more probable location resting their contention partly on John Drake's statement of  $48^{\circ}$ , but more particularly on the description of the Indian customs and dress, and especially because of the nature of the habitations described.

There is no harbor near  $48^{\circ}$  that fulfills the requirements laid down by the narratives, nor does the interior country in any way resemble that described. In addition there is no animal resembling the description of the "connies."

Had Drake entered Puget Sound, located at  $48\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , with its winding arms and far reaching channels, he might well have believed that he had discovered the long sought strait and nothing less than days of exploring could have convinced him that he could not penetrate the mainland. There would have been found along its shores innumerable beaches for refitting; it could not have been called a "bad bay" and a further search would have been unnecessary. Nor did the descriptions given fit the natives of this more northern country.

Professor A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, in his monumental work, "*The Indians of California*," has chosen that region of Central California adjacent to the Bay of San Francisco as the habitat of those Indians that best answer to the descriptions laid down by Hakluyt and Drake. Their manner of life, habits, dress, customs and habitations he insists are still typical of the Indians found here, even though two hundred years had elapsed between Drake's visit and the coming of the White Man.

*Indians of California*  
page 273 et seq.

The principal narrative that has survived of Drake's circumnavigation is surprisingly detailed in its account of "New Albion." The passage is a somewhat prolix mixture of narration and depiction. . . . It can be said in general the culture described agrees very closely with

that existing among the Pomo and their neighbors in the past century.

The dwellings were the typical subterranean structures of north-central California. Their "houses are digged round within the earth and have from the uttermost brimmes of the circles clefts of wood set up, and joynd close together at the top like our spires on the steeple of a church; which being covered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme; the doors in most part of them performs the office also of a chimney to let out the smoke."

Dress accords equally well: "The men for the most part goe naked the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kembing it after the manner of hemp make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hangs downe about their hippes, affords to them a covering."

The king had on his head "a cawle of knitworke, wrought upon somewhat like the crownes; . . . his guards also having cawles likewise stuck with feathers, or covered over with a certain downe, which groweth up in the countrey upon an herbe much like our lecture, which exceeds any other downe in fineness, and being laid upon their cawles, by no wind can be removed." . . . Even the net cap filled with eagle down that the Yuki, Pomo, and other tribes wore until recently, seems to be described: "crownes made of knitwork, wrought upon most curiously with feathers of divers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formal fashion."

Absolutely typical Pomo baskets of the ornate type can be recognized: "Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kinde of stuffe, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brimmes they were hanged with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely use of the gods they worshipped; and besides this, they were wrought upon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into divers workes and formes."

The money of Central California is also unmistakable, although the shell was taken to be bone and the half medieval imagination of the English erected sumptuary regulations of which the Indians certainly were ignorant.

"The chaines seemed a bony substance every link or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the midst. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to wear the same; and even they to whom it is lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they use, as some ten, some twelve, some twentie, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so thereby are they known to be the more honorable personages."

The "bunch of feathers like those of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered upon a string, and drawne together into a rounde

*Location of  
Nova Albion  
based on  
Indian  
Mores*

*Coast-Minok  
Indians lived  
on the northern  
shore of the  
Bay of  
San Francisco*

bundle; being very cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another," tallies closely with Pomo and Maida specimens used in the *kuksu* ceremonies.

Kroeber suggests that these Indians belonged to the Coast-Minok tribe who dwelled in the country north and east of San Francisco Bay and south of Russian River. He has studied the few words preserved in the narratives and identifies them with words and expressions that are similar and were still used by the Indians. For instance, he connects the word *Hyob*, with the Minok word *Hoipa*, meaning chief.

Moreover he states:

Bodega Bay was surrounded by several villages. Others stretched along the sunny side of Tomales Bay; Point Reyes peninsula seems to have been uninhabited.

Around the Bay of San Francisco there must have been large Indian settlements as is attested by the Shell Mounds of Berkeley and shell deposits in other localities.

The "crownes" are the decorated baskets ornamented with the red feathers taken from the wings or crest of the blackbird, while the wampum, or strings of tooth-shells (*Dentaliidae*), even into historical times were worn only by chiefs of distinction. Bancroft states that he had been told that the length of these shells marks the rank or wealth of the wearer.

*Native Races*  
Vol. I, page 347

"All of the older Indians have tatoored on their arms their standard of value. A piece of shell corresponding in length to one of the marks being worth five dollars, Boston money, the scale gradually increases until the highest mark is reached. For five perfect shells corresponding in length to this mark they will readily give one hundred dollars in gold or silver." Occasionally this may have been done, but that it was a universal custom of judging of one's own value, even among Indians, is doubtful. Another contributor has been quoted: "The unit of currency is a string the length of a man's arm, with a certain number of the longer shells below the elbow, and a certain number of the shorter ones above."

These conical or steeple like Indian wickiups are characteristic of the entire Bay region.

Beechey who visited this country in 1825 and has left so many graphic descriptions of the Missions, the Presidios, the inhabitants and their occupations and amusements, in-

cludes among his descriptions an interesting account of these native dwellings.

The party . . . visited about thirty huts belonging to some newly converted Indians of the Toolerayas tribe (bulrushes). Their tents were about thirty-five feet in circumference, constructed with pliable poles fixed in the ground and drawn together at the top to the height of ten or twelve feet. They are then interwoven with small twigs and covered with bulrushes, having an aperture at the side to admit the inhabitants, and another at the top to let out the smoke. The exterior appearance of these wretched wigwams greatly resembles a beehive.

Professor Kroeber further discussed the plants described in "*The World Encompassed*" and finds roots and herbs that he identifies.

The herb *tabab* presented in little baskets was, of course, tobacco; and the root called *perab* ("of which they make bread and eat it either raw or baked") refers to the *brodiaea* and other lily bulbs consumed in quantities by all Californians.

*Beechey  
describes the  
Indian wickiups  
of Santa Clara  
Valley*

*Indians of California.*

In summing up the Indian proofs that this region was settled by the Indians described by Drake, Professor Kroeber regards the basketry as the most definite proof for localizing the narrative. He asserts that to fit these descriptions to the more northern Indian tribes: "The Pomo-like baskets alone would prove an almost insuperable obstacle."

There seems to be no proof either that Drake landed at any particular harbor, or that anything can be adduced so specific as even to establish definitely his residence on this coast. Yet when taken *en masse*, the evidence of a suggestive nature is overwhelming that the Bay region harbored Drake during his six weeks' stay, and that it was either the Sacramento, San Joaquin, Santa Clara or Sonoma valleys that he explored on his interior journey.

The statements descriptive of the "*faire and good Baye*" in which Drake landed and refitted, while not giving sufficient data to permit a definite selection of the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS, does so place this harbor that its general locality can, with certainty, be named.

Taking the Narratives as our guide there are five conditions that this bay must satisfy:

1. Necessarily it is within one or two degrees of latitude 38°. The method of the older navigators in cal-

*Five conditions  
must be satisfied  
in locating  
Drake's Port*

culating latitudes and longitudes gave close approximations rather than exact latitudes. Davidson states that all registered latitudes of the early coast navigators differ by one or two degrees from those adopted by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

2. This harbor must be within one day's sailing distance of that group of five islands known as the "Farallones," which Drake named the "Islands of Saint James," the habitation of birds and seals.
3. The coast must be marked by white cliffs bearing some resemblance to the white cliffs of Dover that gave to England the name "Albion."
4. The bay chosen for their harbor of refuge must be land-locked, and so protected from both waves and undertow that it would allow the beaching of a vessel. The word "trimming" used in the narratives is to be regarded as meaning not only shifting and rebalasting the cargo, but in the broader sense, of actually beaching the GOLDEN HINDE, unloading her and cleaning her hull and repairing leaks in her planking. "*The World Encompassed*" describes this procedure:

Appendix

The 3 day following, viz, the 21, our ship hauing receiued a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to preuent any danger that might chance against safety, our Generall first of all landed his men, and with all necessary prouision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selues and our goods.

John Drake states that they "caulked" the GOLDEN HINDE. To accomplish this it was necessary to have beached and careened the vessel. Davidson asserts that this vessel was "hauled upon the beach, hove down, cleaned and repaired." The element of safety was a primary basis of selection. They were separated from England by many thousand miles and carried a rich cargo estimated at many million pounds. Their lives would have been jeopardized if an error in choice of a safe harbor had been made, or undue chance was taken. Drake was a careful commander and would









have omitted no precaution. The fact that for six weeks the GOLDEN HINDE lay protected in this harbor, so safely beached that Drake did not hesitate to leave her when he explored the adjacent country, makes it certain that he chose wisely, and that no disaster due to wind or change of current and tide could have wrecked his vessel.

*Topographical  
descriptions  
of the Harbor  
of St. Francis*

5. The last condition necessary for the identification of this harbor is that, adjacent to this landing place, there was an open country with a fertile soil teeming with animal life and natives friendly and "tractable," whose *mores* corresponded with those so fully described in "*The World Encompassed*."

In order that the shore line adjacent to latitude 38° may be clearly understood, I have had a map drawn to scale delineating Cermeño's original "Bay of San Francisco," also called the "Puerto Francisco," "Bahia Grande" and "Gulf of the Farallones." It details the coast line from Bodega Head to Point Pedro, a distance of forty miles. This stretch of coast contains five bays, each of which has had advocates who assigned to it the honor of holding the GOLDEN HINDE on her visit to this coast.

Bodega Bay, by the Spaniards believed to have been the harbor where Drake landed, was at one time used by the Russians as a shipping point for their hides and other merchandise. Here they erected a *bodega*, or warehouse, for their goods. However, its name is said to have been given to it by Bodega, the Spanish explorer, who found it an open harbor. As early as 1775 he reported that deposits were forming which so obstructed this port that it became difficult to land there.

Opposite Bodega is the long, bottle-shaped bay of Tomales, dangerous because of the narrow and obstructed neck.

Southward is the jutting head of Point Reyes, a conspicuous landmark for those sailing along the coast. The cove directly under its head, now known as Drake's Bay, has been used as a harbor of refuge during heavy "northers," but the beach portion is dangerous with an unusually strong

Map  
delineating  
the five bays  
near 38°

undertow setting around the head. This cove with its adjacent coast line stretching to Point San Pedro was named by Cermño, whose ship, the *SAN AGUSTIN*, was wrecked here in 1595, "Bay of San Francisco." This Bay is shaped like the lobe of an ear and gradually becomes a part of the coast line at Duxbury Point.

Bolinas Bay, south of Duxbury Point, is now filled with silt and detritus from the outpouring waters of the Bay of San Francisco. It was named after Vizcaino's pilot, Volanos, and when he visited it in 1603, he described it as a good port with an open harbor. Probably the mud carried down the Sacramento River during the time of the unregulated operations of the placer mines, contributed to its present shallow entrance.

At Point Bonita, seven miles south of Bolinas, the shore line makes a sharp turn to the westward and becomes the outer pillar of the Golden Gate, which, with Point Lobos three miles to the south, marks the boundary of the outer harbor of the Bay of San Francisco. From these upstanding sentinels the shore lines gradually close in until, between Fort Point and Lime Point, the entrance is narrowed to one mile, again spreading out into the inner harbor. The Farallones, so named by the Spanish explorers because of their sharp and jagged rock formation, lie twenty-four miles west of this entrance. From them there is an unobstructed view of the slowly approaching coast line with its funnel-like entrance into the inner Port of San Francisco.

It was into this Puerto Francisco, later visited by Spanish ships of exploration, that Drake sailed in quest of a harbor in which he could land, broach and repair his ship's hull, and which so safely berthed the *GOLDEN HINDE* that he did not hesitate to leave it for his inland exploration.

That this coast-line here represented holds the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS seems to be proved by the one statement in "*The World Encompassed*" that can be regarded as definitely approximating the location of their harbor.

Appendix

Not far without this harborough did lye certain Islands (we called them the Islands of *Saint James*) having on them plentifull and great supplies store of seals and birds, with one of which we fell July 24.,

[They sailed out of their harbor July 23.] whereupon we found such provision as might competently serve our turn for a while.

Undoubtedly these "Islands of Saint James" are what we now call the Farallones and, while materially aiding us in our latitude, are not definitive as to the particular harbor Drake did select.

According to Spanish tradition, Bodega was Drake's Harbor of Refuge. Naturally the present Bay of San Francisco was excluded because the Spanish had only a legendary knowledge of its existence.

They placed it as a receding bay with a disemboing river immediately under Point Reyes and deeply penetrating the interior. When, later, the inner port was found not under Point Reyes but many miles to the south they ceased their search for the "Lost Port" and renamed it the "Inner port of the Harbor of San Francisco," gradually the outer harbor lost this designation.

Inasmuch as nothing in the accounts of either Hakluyt or "*The World Encompassed*" localized this harbor, I have no intention of discussing it further than to epitomize the statements of our local historians who have attempted, with arguments, to support their various selections. I desire merely to point out what I believe to be the impossibility of adducing any definite proof of these various conclusions.

Professor George Davidson states:

In 1775 the names of Bodega Bay, Drake's Bay, and San Francisco Bay got very badly tangled. In October Bodega was returning from his heroic exploration to latitude  $57^{\circ} 58'$  when he discovered in latitude  $38^{\circ} 19'$  a harbor which was named de la Bodega from the great shelter it affords. His mate, Don Francisco Maurelle, in his journal criticising Bellini's chart says, "The Port of Francois Drake ought to be called St. Francois." . . . Neither that which we call San Francisco nor that of Francis Drake, is that which is called by that name by the first navigators. That of Francis Drake is doubtless Bodega and that of S. Francisco is to the southeast of Point Reyes, a very short distance from it, from whence run the Farallones south-southwest. . . . The San Francisco port of today is eight leagues to the east of Punta de los Reyes. . . . Thus are determined the position of three distinct harbors, which the French and we ourselves have confounded as one.

*The Islands of  
St. James*

*Identification of  
Sir Francis Drake's  
Anchorage, page 24*

*Dwinelle selects  
Bodega Bay  
as Drake's  
Harbor*

Bancroft asserts that Bodega Bay was the choice of the early Spanish voyagers:

There are three bays not far apart on this coast, those of Bodega, Drake and San Francisco, any one of which to a certain extent may answer the requirements, and each of which has its advocates. . . . Drake's anchorage was very naturally identified by most with the Bay of San Francisco. The Spaniards, however, never accepted this theory, but were disposed from the first to claim for Portola's expedition the honor of discovering the new San Francisco, and to restrict Drake's discoveries to Bodega.

According to Dr. Stillman, an advocate of the Bay of San Francisco, the early Spanish settlers did not agree as to the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS. He quotes General Vallejo as an advocate of Tomales Bay:

*Seeking the Golden Fleet  
page 298, note*

Forseeing the impossibility of any longer maintaining the Spanish tradition [that Bodega was Drake's landing place], he asserts positively that it was Tomales Bay Drake entered. Having offered no reason for his assertion he leaves it to be inferred that he had discovered the post Drake set up with the inscription on sheet lead claiming this country for his Queen. . . . The General tells us that Drake landed in Tomales Bay and, as if in confirmation of his statement, he assures us that he himself had seen there a fragment of the SAN AGUSTINE, though the disaster had occurred more than two hundred and seventy-five years ago.

The bays of Bodega and Bolinas have materially shoaled in the past hundred years owing to the deposit of silt. What condition they were in three hundred and fifty years ago is a matter of conjecture.

When first discovered, both were regarded as satisfactory harbors; it is to be assumed that they were equally good when Drake visited this coast.

Of all modern writers on this subject, John W. Dwinelle has been most insistent in adducing reasons for his belief that the Bay of Bodega was Drake's Harbor of Refuge. He asserts:

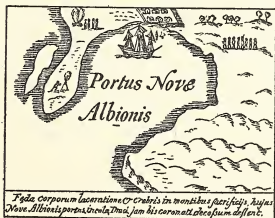
*Bancroft's  
History of California  
Vol. I, page 89*

There is now a long spit of sand running from the east at the foot of the bay and nearly shutting it up. But this sand-spit did not exist when Captain Bodega discovered the Bay in 1775, although he reported his opinion that one was forming there.

Edward Everett Hale has written entertainingly on our coast discoveries. Basing his conclusions on a study of all

available sources of information, he insisted that the present Bay of San Francisco was Drake's harbor of refuge. He in no way agreed with the Spaniards who believed that, because they failed to locate the inner port of the Bay of San Francisco, necessarily Drake could not have discovered and used it during his six weeks' stay on this coast. Hale dwells on the fact that in none of the other bays near 38° could Drake have found so safe a harbor and one in which he would have been justified in leaving his ship for an exploration of the interior country. He reproduced many maps but wisely suggested that none of these in any respect gives a truthful delineation of Drake's harbor.

There has been found in the British Museum a map known as the "Hondius" map and, as a marginal illustration, it bears a sketch of the "Portus Novae Albionis," evidently drawn to delineate the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS. The first dated Hondius map was issued in 1627, but the date of this map is not known.



"By horrible lacerations of their bodies and by frequent sacrifices in the Mountains, the Inhabitants of this part of New Albion deplore the departure of Drake now living crowned."

In commenting on this map Dwinelle writes:

Viewed from the point where Drake's ship is represented as lying, the Island appears to lie outside the peninsula. Drake's ship passed this island twice, namely, going in and going out. But it was in sight every day from the place where the ship lay during the five weeks

*The Portus  
Novae Albionis*

Hale originally published and discussed this map. He believed it to be merely diagrammatic.

Dwinelle, however, used this map to prove that Drake landed in Bodega Bay and asserted that from it he could demonstrate Drake's exact landing place.

*Bancroft's  
History of California  
Vol. I, page 89*

*Stillman offers  
proof that Drake  
landed in the  
Bay of  
San Francisco*

that he was there, and from that point, we repeat, this island appears to be outside. The bay itself there at the head, appears to be twice as wide at its mouth some miles below, although the reverse is the fact. . . . We have visited Bodega Bay with a photographic copy of Hondius map taken from that in the British Museum, but enlarged to the dimensions of 5 by 6 inches.

All the incidents called for by the Drake narrative exist here. These we have mentioned; also the Indian villages; the shell fish; the seals; the deciduous trees, and the conies which honeycombed the soil; the elevation of the coast which commenced at about that latitude; the white sand-hills that suggested the name "Albion." . . . We have no doubt but that Bodega Bay is Drake's Bay and that the Hondius map was furnished to him by Fletcher, who made it on the spot.

Of our local historians, Doctor Stillman strongly defended the claims of San Francisco Bay as against either Bodega or Drake's Bay. Especially does he attack the selection of Drake's Bay as the one in which Drake landed.

*Seeking the Golden Fleet*  
page 295

The testimony of every practical seaman, familiar with that locality that I have consulted, corroborates the opinions of Beechey and Vancouver. It is a safe anchorage during the summer months, while the wind is from the northwest, but even than a heavy ground swell from the southwest is common which would be fatal to a small vessel heeled down on the sandy shore. When it is considered that Drake was an experienced navigator; that he was upon a strange coast without knowledge of the coast, without knowledge of the character of the winds, and with a certainty of destruction while he lay careened upon the beach, it seems strange any one could be found to believe that he would have so exposed himself. Captain Rockwell, of the Coast Survey, who is perfectly familiar with the coast, assures me that it was not possible for Drake to have graved his ship in the harbor under Point Reyes [Drake's Bay].

Stillman lays special stress on his ground-squirrel theory as proving that Drake landed neither at Drake's Bay nor at Bodega. As a naturalist, he insists that no other animal except a ground-squirrel could have been intended by the Hakluyt description. He asserts:

*Ibid*, page 295

There is not one to be found in the county of Marin, nor is there any evidence that there ever were any there. It lives in vast communities, where it is to be found at all. It will not be found in the cold, foggy regions of the coast, nor in San Francisco county, making its first appearance south around the sunny slopes at the foot of San Bruno in San Mateo county; south of that it becomes very numerous. Edward Bryant says that they were to be seen in the public square at San Jose by hundreds or thousands. . . . Dr. Eschscholtz, the Russian natu-

ralist, who spent several months in California in the year 1824, making collections of the natural history of the coast from Bodega Bay to the Bay of San Francisco, found no ground squirrel. . . . The only other rodent in the state that is numerous is the gopher; it is solitary subterranean, never is seen above ground, or but rarely; it never goes abroad for its food, has short and obscure tail. . . . In short, its habits are that of the mole. Gophers can only be secured by traps peculiarly constructed and. . . a whole tribe of Indians could not capture enough to make a coat of their skins in a life-time. The ground squirrel is a bold rover, gathering great stores of grain in his burrow after he "has filled his belly abroad."

*Ground Squirrels*  
[*Conies?*] not  
found in  
Marin County

Beechey in writing of the natural history of the region interior to the Bay of San Francisco describes certain rodents that infested this country, probably identical with those which these less well-informed sailors found:

The fields are burrowed by a small rat, resembling the *mus arvalis* [mouse], by a mountain rat of the *crictus* [mole, or burrowing rat with a short, hairy tail] species, and also by the arillo, a species of *sciurus* [squirrel], rather a pretty little animal said to be good to eat.

*Beechey's Voyage*  
page 390

It is generally assumed by naturalists that this ground-squirrel bears the closest resemblance to the animals described in these narratives.

Stillman adduces many general arguments in favor of the Bay of San Francisco but inasmuch as they are generalizations and not proof, their repetition would serve no purpose. He dwells on the small size of Bodega Bay and asserts that it is an impossible choice, for it is closed in by breakers when the wind is from the northwest. Another argument adduced by him in proof that Drake's Bay, as now named, was not the bay selected by Drake, is that had Drake sailed out of this bay or that of Bodega towards the Moluccas, he would have passed many miles north of the Farallones where he is known to have stopped for the purpose of replenishing his larder.

Bancroft, making no attempt at selection, thus summarizes:

Able men like Burney, Davidson, Tuthill and Stillman have maintained that Drake anchored within the Golden Gate, against the contrary opinions of other able men like Soule, Doyle, Dwinelle, Hittell and Humboldt.

*History of California*  
Vol. I, page 90

The last named writers, especially Humboldt, argued for

*Bancroft unable  
to name the  
Drake Harbor*

Bodega, although others chose Drake's Bay. This latter bay was not, by the Spaniards, so named: it was called the "Bay of San Francisco" as a part of the great Puerto Francisco. After the "Lost Port" was made known to the Spaniards, they transferred this name to the inner harbor and this outer bay became known to the English and American sailors as "Jack's Bay." Later it received the name "Drake's Bay," which, to many, seems to be convincing proof that Drake must have landed there.

Bancroft is non-committal as to where Drake landed although he argues the fact that Drake would have given a more accurate description of the bay that harbored the GOLDEN HINDE provided the Bay of San Francisco had been selected; also he ignores the fact of an internal exploration:

*History of California  
Vol. I, page 91*

That Drake and his men should have spent a month in so large and so peculiar a bay without an exploration extending thirty or forty miles into the interior by water; that notes should be written on the visit without a mention of any exploration, or of the great rivers flowing into the bay, or of its great arms; that Drake's men should have evaded the questions of such men as Richard Hakluyt, and have died without imparting a word of the information so eagerly sought by so many men, is indeed incredible. . . . Drake's business in the North Pacific was to find an interoceanic passage; if he abandoned the hope in the far north, one glance at the Golden Gate would have rekindled it; a glance of the far reaching arms within would have convinced him that the strait was found; San Pablo Bay would have removed the last doubt from the mind of every incredulous companion; in Suisun Bay the GOLDEN HINDE would have been well on her way through the continent; and a little farther the only question would have been whether to proceed directly to Newfoundland by the Sacramento or to Florida by the San Joaquin. That a man like Fletcher, who found scepters, and crowns, and kings among the Central Californians, who found a special likelihood of gold and silver where nothing of the kind ever existed, who was so nearly frozen among the snow-covered California hills in summer, should have called the anchorage under Point Reyes, to say nothing of Bodega, a fine harbour would have been wonderful accuracy and moderation on his part. But supposing San Francisco Bay to have been the subject of his description, let the reader imagine the result. The continent is not broad enough to contain the complication of channels he would have described.

Had Bancroft been a judicious historian, one who was



capable of intelligently passing on the immense store of facts in his possession, no such tissue of misstatements would have been made. Both Narratives of this "Famous Voyage" state that Drake made excursions into the interior and intelligently described what was found there. Bancroft, also, has wrongly attributed the source of the statement regarding the finding of gold and silver. It was Hakluyt who made this assertion. Fletcher made no mention of such a discovery.

Had Drake's log book and coast sketches been preserved and had they contained no representations or descriptions of this Bay, Bancroft would have been justified in expressing astonishment at the omission of a fuller description. Fletcher's assertion that it was a "convenient and fit harbourough," or Hakluyt's that it was a "faire and good baye," sufficiently indicated its character even though it was not a log-book or topographical description. These voyagers were more interested in the things they saw and heard in this new country with its strange, savage, uncouth inhabitants and its teeming animal life, than in topographical descriptions.

Everything they detail so admirably fits the native inhabitants and the fauna and flora as "*The World Encompassed*" described them, as not to justify Bancroft in the further assertion: "Few have been sufficiently impressed with the fundamental truth that Chaplain Fletcher was a liar." Many explorers of unknown lands have been so classified but not after time and familiarity has proved their stories to be true. Ignorant misrepresentation and inability to properly interpret unknown customs and unfamiliar life is not deliberate untruthfulness.

Drake, the skilled pilot who threaded the Strait of Magellan, the earth circumnavigator, the seeker for the fabled strait that led directly back to the Atlantic, was not one who could be dismissed so contemptuously. That he was so misjudged by Bancroft reflects more on the capacity of the historian than on the ability of the navigator.

Bancroft, who published his "*History of California*," in 1884, names Davidson as believing that the true Drake's

*Bancroft  
misinterprets  
statements  
made in the  
Narratives*

*The Hakluyt  
statement of the  
height reached  
by the  
Golden Hinde*

the days of Drake's exploits. We appeal to the recorded dicta of Iodocus Hondius and of Robert Dudley, friends of Drake; and to the statements which William Camden, the annalist, obtained directly from Drake.

Hakluyt published two accounts of the Drake circumnavigation in the 1600 edition. The first of these was that which had been surreptitiously inserted in the 1589 issue which I have reproduced in the appendix, together with the narrative from "*The World Encompassed*" and an extract from John Drake's, "DECLARATION"; the second account gave brief details of the full circumnavigation, to which he gave the title "The Famous Voyage": this Davidson misinterprets. The verbiage, extracted from Hakluyt, follows:

Appendix

The fift day of June being in fortie three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and we did so.

This statement cannot be so argued as to be made to contain the assertion that 43° was the highest point reached; merely that about this latitude they became "pinched" by the cold "and the farther we went the more the cold increased upon us." No reference is made to the latitude in which they turned back or in which they sought their first landing. Presumably it was at some point south of their actual highest north. "*The World Encompassed*" corroborates the Hakluyt account although it places their position when they first complained of the cold one degree lower, as also did the excerpt in the 1589 edition.

The statement contained in "*The World Encompassed*," which Davidson says "is not true" follows:

Appendix

From the height of 48.de. in which now we were, to 38. we found the land by coasting along it to be but a low and reasonable plaine: every hil (whereof we saw many, but none very high) though it were in Iune and the Sun in his neerest approach unto them, being couered with snow.

In this place there was no abiding for us; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold . . . would not permit us: and the winds directly beat against us, having once gotten under saile againe, commanded us to the southward whether we would or no.

This assertion as to the harbor in which they first attempted to land and from which they were driven by stress of weather is thus interpreted and re-stated by Davidson: He anchored in the open roadstead off the mouth of Chetko River under the partial protection of Cape Ferrello in latitude  $42^{\circ} 03'$ . Here "the winds directly beat against us and having once gotten us under sayle againe, commanded us to the southward whether we would or no."

From this latitude of forty-two to " $38^{\circ}$ " we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to be but a low and reasonable plaine; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high) though it was in June, and the sunne in his nearest approach to them, being couered with snow."

While Hakluyt did collect stories of voyages of exploration from every available source he did not vouch for the truth of their statements. He did, by reason of his being a man of education, a saintly man in "holy orders," a man of honor who would not presume on the ignorance of his readers, hold himself responsible for correctly reproducing each narrative or translation that he published.

Davidson's selection of forty-two as the highest latitude reached by Drake comes not from Hakluyt but from "*The World Encompassed*." It is a peculiar combination of quotation and paraphrasing entirely failing to give the findings contained in the Fletcher account.

Davidson barely calls attention to the twelve elapsed days between June 5, when the GOLDEN HINDE was said to have been in  $43^{\circ}$ , and her return to  $38^{\circ}$  on June 17. Had she gone as far north as  $48^{\circ}$ , she would have had to sail fifteen degrees, about one thousand miles, or an average of eighty miles per day; both Zarate and Silva stated that she was a good sailing vessel. That she was forced southward by the wind is indicated by that passage in the Fletcher narrative where it is written: "the winds directly beat against us, having once gotten us under saile againe, commanded us to the southward whether we would or no." Apparently no landing was attempted.

"*The World Encompassed*" account magnified the sufferings these sailors endured from "Oregon mist" in true Fletcherish verbiage, the facts somewhat exaggerated but not for

*The World  
Encompassed  
paraphrased by  
Davidson*

*Old charts  
delineating the  
Coast of  
California*

that reason untrue. Davidson does not comment on John Drake's corroborative statement. Possibly he did not know of it. All accounts agree negatively or by definite fixation.

Davidson's "appeal" to Hondius is not substantiated by any known fact that warrants the prestige of such a name. Hondius was a well known cartographer who drew maps, some of which were published by his son, the younger Hondius, in 1627.

There is a map of unknown date, still in manuscript, said to be the work of Hondius, carrying a side-plan of the harbor of St. Francis, but neither does this map with the side-plan nor the one published by the younger Hondius in the 1627 World Atlas, delineate the Drake harbor. The conclusion is that it was not drawn on this map in the original draft but was a later addition. This is the map that Davidson "assumes" was drawn by Hondius in 1595; it is undated. In its original form it crudely represents the coast of Nova Albion.

This Hondius map bears a legend stating that cold was met with in  $42^{\circ}$  for which reason they turned to shore; and he places by inference their landing in  $42^{\circ}$  at which latitude he also figures Nova Albion. He represents no harbor, but in  $38^{\circ}$ , below his Albion location, he draws a receding bay with an entering river. This legend also refers to the kingship of this country being offered to Drake as well as to the fact that these sailors received divine worship at the hands of the idolaters. All this could have been derived from the Hakluyt publication. That Hondius at any time met Drake, or received from him direct information, is a Davidson deduction not warranted by any known fact. As a map representing the coast of California it is utterly worthless and the least reliable of those that have come down to us. It is not on this map that the marginal drawing was made of Drake's Harbor, on which Davidson bases his principal argument for the localization of Drake's Bay. The chart containing this marginal map is of unknown date, but it must have been drawn after 1628, for the legends it bears directly refers to the narrative contained in "*The World Encompassed*," and crudely represents the occurrences there recounted.



Davidson  
"appeals"  
to Dudley

In neither of these Hondius maps is there evidence that any special information as to the particular bay selected was communicated by Drake; if Drake gave the outline, or the location of the harbor in which he anchored, Hondius did not accurately reproduce it, nor did he locate it in accordance with the Hakluyt latitude assigned to Nova Albion.

Davidson thus qualifies the accuracy of the general map on which the side plan is drawn:

Identification of  
Sir Francis Drake's  
Anchorage,  
page 24

I have procured from the British Museum an accurate tracing of this "side plan" and its legend. It has neither geographical position, scale, meridian or soundings. . . . From its shape and the scale of the ship and surroundings, one is led to suppose that it is a small anchorage. As such, there is no harbor like it on this coast, and the relatively large islet outside the point appears still further to complicate the subject.

This is sufficient evidence that Davidson's only reason for appealing in the name of Hondius was not faith in the accuracy of the Hondius map, or of any special knowledge possessed by Hondius of Drake's route in the South Sea, merely that he found on the margin an undoubted Drake Portus evidently drawn after the publication of "*The World Encompassed*."

The "appeal" to Robert Dudley is ludicrous. Dudley was not born until 1573 and it seems improbable that Drake would have communicated to a child information or a map-plan that was never published and which remains in manuscript. There is a manuscript map quoted by Davidson and known to have been drawn by Dudley.

This drawing is diagrammatic and contains nothing but a waving coast line without attempt at localizing any special harbor, except that of Nova Albion in latitude  $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . It is of interest, however, in the pencil markings used to correct the original outline. These alterations, while curious and suggestive, might have been drawn at some period subsequent to the original draft. It is intended to exhibit the Port of New Albion but in no way does it accurately represent it; it gives merely the outline of what can be regarded as a fair and good bay.

If this map plan had been communicated to Dudley by Drake, it in no way bears out Davidson's appeal as to the highest latitude reached by the *GOLDEN HINDE*. In addition the date, 1582, further emphasizes the ignorance or carelessness with which it was drawn. This map remains in manuscript.

*Map from the  
Arcano del  
Mare*



The Dudley map of this coast, a part of the *ARCANO DEL MARE*, published in 1647, bears little resemblance to this manuscript map. "Sardina," judged by its shape, has been changed to "P: di don Gaspar"; while a new harbor, designated "P: del Nuouo Albion scoperto del Drago C<sup>m</sup> Inglese" is located in 38° to represent the Drake port. From this fact it can be argued that "Sardina," in the manuscript map, was not intended to represent the Drake harbor. The whole coast is so faultily delineated that no map can be used as a basis for deductions.

It has been believed that the "Silver Map," issued soon after Drake's return, delineates the track of the *GOLDEN HINDE* along the North Pacific Coast. There is a dotted line extending as far north as 48°, at which point it approaches the land. This has been used as an exhibit in

proof that Drake reached this latitude.

Davidson, after a thorough study of this "Silver Map," and a full discussion of the many geographical errors it contains, asserts that it was not issued in honor of Drake, nor to commemorate the circumnavigation, for it does not show familiarity with the most outstanding events of "The Famous Voyage."

*The Silver Map*

The engraver does not represent the fleet at Port St. Julian in 49 degrees, 30 minutes south where the unpardonable Doughty tragedy was enacted; nor does he lay any course to place Drake off Cape Horn, which he discovered. On the Pacific, he places the GOLDEN HINDE at Mucho, in latitude 40° south, but not at Valparaiso in 33½° south where Drake followed the coast. . . . On the other hand . . . the engraver shows a course along the peninsula of Lower California from Cape San Lucas, in latitude 22° 52', to latitude 48° near Vancouver Island. He fails to locate a track through the Moluccas; and he has introduced a great south polar continent. He was negligent of important dates when Drake, from 1580 to 1585, was near in person to have given them correctly.

According to Davidson these geographical arguments and the glaring mistakes pointed out, especially as to 48° north latitude, prove that Drake had nothing to do with the issuance of the Silver Map; or that he was either ignorant or forgetful, provided he had personally designed this plaque to represent the track of his circumnavigation.

Purchas states that this Silver Map is the handiwork of Mercator and that it was made in commemoration of the Drake circumnavigation and intimates, inferentially, that it was issued in honor of Drake. Purchas was contemporary with Drake and should have been correctly informed about a matter at that time well within his knowledge.

For this once, possibly, Davidson's capacity for deductive reasoning has led him into error. A passage contained in Lady Elliott-Drake's "*History of The Drake Family*," derived from original sources, casts an interesting side-light on the origin of this plaque. In this she writes of a visit Drake made to Holland and of the fact that he treasured this memento of his voyage:

*Family of Sir Francis  
Drake, page 73*

An extremely interesting reminder of his visit to Holland is a little pocket map of the world, described by Purchas as "a ployt of Drake's voyage cut in silver by a Dutchman, Michael Mercator." Four of these silver medals still exist. Sir Francis's own one, now at Nutwell, is in the original black case—not shabby exactly, but worn a little, as it might be from having been carried in his pocket; another is in the possession of Sir John Evans, President of the Royal Numismatical Society; and two more are at the British Museum. Sir John Evans inclines to the opinion that these medals were struck soon after Sir Francis's return from circumnavigating the globe, and it is of course possible that he may have gone to Holland and . . . that he gave

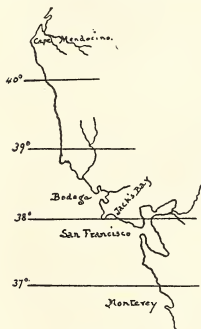


instructions for the little silver plaque to be made as presents to his friends.

*Jack's Bay*

Davidson gives no further reasons beyond these just stated for his fixed belief that Drake could not have gone beyond forty-three degrees north.

The other matter that Davidson argued equally strenuously was the point at which Drake landed. As this was a local question and not of national importance, it elicited little controversy and Davidson's statements have been accepted as definitely establishing the location of THE HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS.



MODERN MAP.<sup>4</sup>

This marginal map, reproduced from a Spanish map of 1790, properly locates and designates this coast line. It omits Tomales Bay and crudely delineates the shore line of Bodega and San Francisco Bays.

Before Davidson there had been but few advocates that Drake's Bay was Drake's landing place, in spite of the fact that, in time, its original name, "Bay of San Francisco," and later its local name, "Jack's Bay," was change to "Drake's Bay." Hale, basing his conclusion on a statement made in the "*Coast Pilot*" in 1880, asserted that Davidson upheld San Francisco Bay as the Drake harbor.

Bancroft, who published his "*History of California*" in 1884, thirty-five years after Davidson's connection with the Coast Survey began, names Davidson as an advocate of the San Francisco anchorage and as opposed to the Spanish contention that it was the Port of Bodega.

Davidson's own statement places the date of his change of opinion somewhat earlier. He writes: "In the first two

Davidson  
as an advocate  
of the Bay of  
San Francisco

or three years of my work . . . with comparatively little experience and a limited acquaintance with early discoveries, I believed that Drake entered the Bay of San Francisco."

Davidson began his career on the Pacific Coast as an Assistant in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, in the year 1850. This position he held for approximately forty years, surveying and studying the coast line, the harbors, the tides, and all that related to the phenomena of fogs, weather and temperature.

In the early years of his work, Davidson accepted the theory that Drake's anchorage was the Bay of San Francisco.

The first authoritative statement of Davidson's change of belief is contained in a paper which was published in the year 1890, by the California Historical Society. It was entitled: "*Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California.*"

Briefly recapitulated, Davidson's arguments consisted of certain propositions based on his nautical experience and his special knowledge of this coast line; also on old maps showing the location of the Drake harbor, which, by their contour, proved that they so closely resembled the conformation of the bay whose northern boundary was Point Reyes Head as to identify this particular harbor as the one represented; the further fact that the white cliffs, especially marked near Drake's Bay, induced Drake to name this territory "Nova Albion." He also asserted as a part of his proof that Drake, even had he found the opening into the Bay of San Francisco, would not have dared to sail into its threatening portal. Another reason given was that the Farallones could not have been seen from the Golden Gate or reached in twenty-four hours' sail from the Bay of San Francisco. Also he insisted that Drake's Bay was a harbor so safe that Drake "instinctively" chose it and there beached, cleaned and left the GOLDEN HINDE while he explored the interior country; and that this choice was the result of an intuition so strong that Drake felt it unnecessary to seek further; finally, that the legend, current among the Nicasio Indians, definitely proved that Drake's Bay was the Har-

bor of Refuge selected. Convinced by these arguments advanced by Davidson, further impressed by the name now borne by this cove, popular opinion has confirmed the choice. Consequently, without mental reservation, Drake's Bay has been accepted as the landing and abiding place of Drake while on this coast.

For this reason it is necessary to examine the proofs contained in Davidson's "Identification," as well as the later papers published in 1908 by "The Geographical Society of the Pacific." They carry the sub-titles "Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America" and "The GOLDEN HINDE did not enter the Bay of San Francisco." This publication is a collection of twenty-five papers relating generally to the two subtitles. They contain no new statements or arguments as to the localization of Drake's Bay, and for this reason are not quoted *in extenso*.

The maps, charts and diagrams contained in the "Identification" are of interest, as they exhibit the early conceptions of geographers in their attempts to delineate the Pacific Coast.

None of the Spanish maps recognize, or suggest, that Drake landed near latitude 38°, or named this portion of the Pacific Coast "Nova Albion." That of Vizcaino (*Map, page 64*) drawn by Martinez, the cartographer who accompanied him on his exploration, shows a deep indentation with an entering river directly under Point Reyes Head and it also exhibits the Farallones which were named the "Frayles."

Another Spanish map of unknown date, reproduced by Davidson, accurately details the coast line until the latitude 38° is reached. It shows the Po. de S. Francisco, and its bay, just north of Point Reyes where Bodega Bay is located, while the group of islands representing the Farallones is properly placed south of Point Reyes Head. (*Map, page 74.*)

Davidson also reproduces a chart of unknown date and several maps selected from the ARCANO DEL MARE edited by Dudley and published in 1647. As a rule these maps name parts of the coast line near 38° "Nova Albion." In some it is placed as far north as 44 degrees.

No  
Spanish map  
designates  
this coast  
"New Albion"

*The Hondius'  
Portus Novae  
Albionis*

The chart that Davidson relies on to prove his contention that Drake landed in the cove under Point Reyes, now known as "Drake's Bay," was drawn by Hondius, and is of unknown date. When Davidson first mentions it he suggests that it was published at the "Hague? in 1595?"; his later references assume that it is dated 1595 and omit the interrogation marks. It is the same map which had been discussed by Dwinelle and Hale, and by Dwinelle was used to prove that Bodega was the landing place of Drake.

According to Davidson:

*Identification &c.  
page 38*

There is no definite indication of Drake's anchorages on the General Chart of Hondius, but there is a plan of the Portus on the margin. I have procured from the British Museum an accurate tracing of this side plan and its legend. This side plan has neither geographical position, scale, meridian or soundings. It is destitute of any explanatory note, and with only the Carta prima Generale and the Carta Particolare of the Arcano del Mare for reference and comparison it is nearly unintelligible. It has no similarity to the harbor of the latter chart. From its shape and the scale of the ship and its surroundings one is led to suppose that it is a small anchorage.

In endeavoring to reconcile this port with what we know to exist, I assumed the orientation and the scale of the long point of the Portus to be the same as the eastern promontory of Point Reyes, and reduced and compared them. The result was so reasonable that it seemed as if the problem was solved.

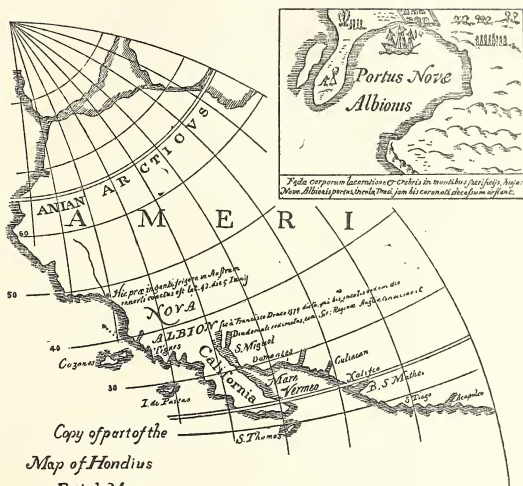
In further studying the Hondius' Portus, Davidson makes the following discoveries:

*Identification &c.  
page 39*

The Portus has a large islet outside the protecting westerly point. No such islet exists, but there is a rocky mass with a noticeable column or pillar which rises to sixty feet in height, and is clearly visible off the point as it is made when approaching from the westward, and is as distinctly separated from the point from the anchorage, if this be not too far in.

This islet may be taken as synonymous with the Portus map, where it is much exaggerated. Moreover, the size and appearance of the rocky islet may be fairly considered adverse to the claims of Bodega Bay, which has a low rocky patch directly off the south face of the Head with a passage way between.

In this statement Davidson takes direct issue with Dwinelle, who, in the passage previously quoted, uses this same map to prove that Bodega Bay was Drake's Harbor of Refuge. Hale's judgment that this map was merely diagrammatic seems to be correct.



A BROADSIDE MAP OF HONDIUS

It is undated and contains as an insert the Portus Novae Albionis intended to illustrate the verbiage of "The World Encompassed"

*The corrected  
Dudley Map*

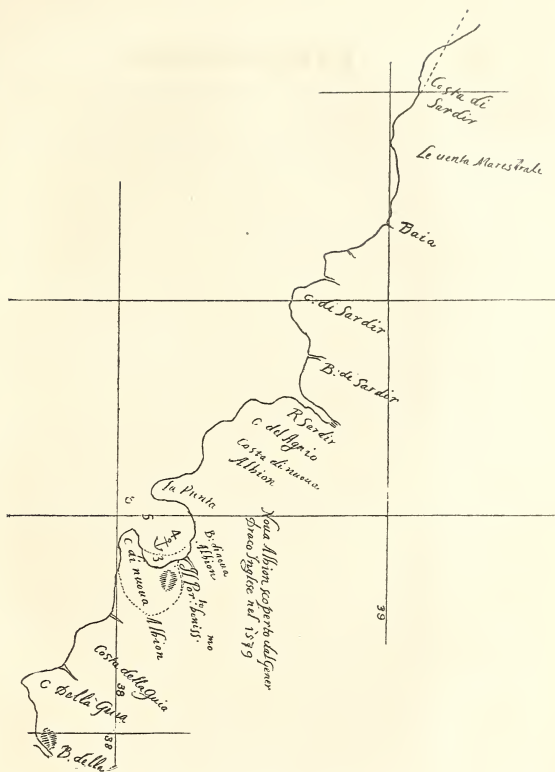
There is a second map of the Drake harbor contained in Dudley's *ARCANO DEL MARE*, published in 1647. While not so specific in its reference to the incidents concerning Drake's reception by the Indians detailed in Hakluyt and "*The World Encompassed*," in some ways it is more interesting in that it contains a pencil marking seeming to indicate that the real bay extended farther southward than the one originally drawn. Davidson seems to believe that Drake personally communicated the shape of the bay in which he landed to Dudley who was a brother-in-law of Cavendish and, later, became a noted cartographer. However, Dudley was only six years old when Drake returned from his circumnavigation, and he was a mere youth when Drake sailed on his last voyage. In addition, this chart was issued in 1647, although it might have been drawn at an earlier date.

Davidson reproduced a copy of this chart in his "Identification." In comparing Dudley's drawing of the "Porto Bonissimo" of Drake with this map, Davidson states: "I saw at a glance that the Portus was an almost exact counterpart of his "B: Noua Albion" on a scale twice as large with the same orientation." By such reasoning Davidson doubly confirmed his theory.

Evidently the cartographer who drew the Hondius map indicated an island outside Drake's anchorage in order to illustrate that passage from "*The World Encompassed*" which reads: "Not far without this harborough did lye certain islands" from which they obtained eggs, birds and seals. In a similar manner, this cartographer illustrated the passage in "*The World Encompassed*" where the Indians wished to pay Drake and his sailors divine honors and to offer sacrifice on their altars:

Appendix

Nothing could persuade them, nor remove that opinion which they had conceived of us that we should be gods. . . . In the meane time the women, as if they had been desperate, used unnaturall violence against themselves crying and shreeking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nails from their cheek, in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming down along their breasts. . . . They would with furie cast themselves upon the ground, never respecting whether it were clean or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, pricking bushes or whatever else lay in their way.



DUDLEY'S ARCANO DEL MARE MAP

*The Hondius  
Map was drawn  
after 1628*

On the departure of the GOLDEN HINDE from this port, it is further related:

The 23. day of July they took a sorrowfull farewell of us, but being loath to leave us, they presently ran to the tops of the hills to keep us in sight as long as they could making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as it is supposed) sacrifices to our departure.

It was to illustrate such details that this marginal sketch on the Hondius map was made, rather than an attempt to draw an accurate topographical chart. Inasmuch as this narrative regarding sacrifices by the Indians to their visiting deities is detailed in "*The World Encompassed*," published in 1628, and is not related by Hakluyt, it is not probable that the chart containing this marginal map was drawn by Hondius in 1595, or that Drake suggested such details.

As this map is Davidson's most important evidence in establishing the habitation of Drake, and by it he has attempted to locate the various incidents described, I will quote his final conclusions:

*Identification &c.  
page 39*

The Portus anchors the GOLDEN HINDE in the inner part of the bay, but exhibits no soundings such as the manuscript chart [of Dudley] gives.

A curious feature is exhibited on the eastern shore of the Portus in what I consider the representation of cliffs. The country is depicted as rolling land; large bodies of Indians are seen marching; the rancheria of the Estero Limantour is denoted by six houses in the exact position of that Indian town of which we have the tangible proof to this day; and at the two crowning parts of the promontory, as shown by our Surveys, there are two sacrificial altars, with natives burning something on them, and raising large smokes when Drake left. The sketch is too small to show the Islands of St. James.

At the foot of the Portus is the following legend: "Foeda corporum laceratione et cerebris in montibus sacrificijs, hujus Novae Albionis portus incolae, Draci, jam bis coronati, decessum deflent." (By horrible lacerations of their bodies and by frequent sacrifices in the mountains, the inhabitants of that part of Nova Albion deplore the departure of Drake now twice crowned.)

In the paper published by the Geographical Society twenty years after the appearance of the "Identification," was another article entitled "*The GOLDEN HINDE placed in the Harbor of San Francisco*," in which Davidson criticised Justin Winsor and Edward Everett Hale for their belief that the



Bay of San Francisco was Drake's Harbor. In this he reiterates his statement that the Portus is a representation of Drake's Bay.

We have presented nearly all the points of evidence from the texts and charts of the old authorities. The "Portus Novae Albionis" of Hondius shows the entrance to the Laguna Limantour and the Indian Rancheria on the west shore thereof, and the eastern promontory of Point Reyes Head (which forms the harbor); and the two elevations where the Indians built their fires on the departure of the ships. [sic.]

Yet of this chart Dr. Hale writes: "The map of Hondius gives a chart of Drake's Bay which has unfortunately no representation to any bay on the coast, and is purely imaginary."

This stricture is not borne out by the facts. From our personal acquaintance with the locality, and by a copy of a photographic view we have proved that it was drawn by some one who had given the sketch or the information to Hondius. On the Munchen chart 85 [Dudley] the outline has been changed three times, as indicated by the original pencil outlines. No survey had been made and the outline, orientation and soundings were simply eye sketches and estimates.

The notable thing regarding Davidson's arguments is their triviality and the unconvincing summaries that he makes either in support of his choice or against the ports he rejects.

This sketch map plays queer tricks with those who too fixedly gaze upon its bewitching contour.

Mr. Wagner seems to have fallen a victim to its protean shape and by diagrams and slight alterations he has found the bay that materializes this sketch, fitting it as the shoe does the foot. It is true that his "portus" is many degrees north of the location all the narratives quoted have given it, for it is situated about 43° northern latitude, and it is a cove never before dignified with the appellation of "harbor." It is of such small size that our coast maps scarce note the indentation and two hundred yards will measure its longest diameter.

Truly, the shoe and the foot belong to the same individual, merely the left shoe is being fitted to the right foot. Mr. Wagner might have urged two additional proofs of his selection, thus invalidating the Davidson choice. One, that the Gold Bluffs immediately north of Trinidad are the most conspicuous "white cliffs" along the whole coast; the other that barely seventy-five miles due east of

*Portus Novae  
Albionis placed  
under  
Trinidad Head,  
latitude 43°*

Wagner  
discovers a  
woge

Trinidad lies the Hoopa Valley still the habitat of the Indian. It is true that the way to it lies over an impenetrable mass of our greatest timber belt and to force one's way a mile through the bracken and undergrowth is an hour's work; also that rugged mountains supervene, nor are there conies or "heards of deere" to be found, yet it was the only valley or open land accessible from this shore. The "unhandsome and deformed" shore-line does not correspond with that found at Trinidad. Here enormous ferns and dense undergrowth reached directly to the shore and within a stone's throw trees girthing 20 to 50 feet grew, as is to this day attested by the enormous stumps still a part of the Trinidad landscape. No spot along the entire coast could have been selected covered with a more luxuriant growth of vegetation. Had Fletcher described the great redwoods girthing from twenty to sixty feet, now the heart of our Redwood Reserve, assuredly his reading public would have applied to him the epithet Bancroft later used.

In addition, Mr. Wagner has discovered the "woge." In connection with this sketch he has recalled a legend that throws a new light on the apotheosis of Drake and his buccancer crew. He, also, has located the altars from which Davidson described "great smokes" ascending, and suggests that these divine honors were paid because the Indians believed that the reincarnated spirits of the former occupants of this land had returned aboard the GOLDEN HINDE and her consort.

Drake's Voyage Around  
the World, page 156

An examination of the charts of these various bays at once shows that Trinidad Bay most resembles that displayed on the Hondius broadside which is reproduced herewith together with a modern chart of Trinidad Bay. Just opposite where the ship is located on the plan of the "portus" is a level piece of ground, and some little distance to the east there is a sort of terrace, perhaps some twenty feet above high tide, where the Indian town was located. . . . Behind this is a bluff some eighty or one hundred feet high. . . . The anchorage in this bay is perfectly protected from the northwest winds and the size and shape of the bay conform very closely to those shown on the Hondius plan except that the southeast side does not extend to the southwest as shown there in, but trends almost south. What appears to be an island off the head has bothered every one who has investigated this subject, as there is no bay known on the coast which has an island occupying a similar position. The fact appears to be that it

is not intended to be an island at all, but a part of the head itself, which, on a pen-and-ink sketch from which the engraving was made, was not shown clearly as attached to it. Trinidad Head has an excrescence almost exactly like that shown in the plan.

They were great believers in some superior being that they called *woge* who were said to have inhabited the country in mythical times before they came. Is it not possible that Drake and his men were supposed to be *woge* come back to earth again, either to reoccupy their old homes, or at least, to subject the inhabitants to slavery?

The dreams that this "Portus" may induce are past psychoanalysis. For my part I refuse to gaze into its crystalline depths and, with wax-filled ears, I give no heed to the siren-song. Not recognizing the tangible resemblance it bears to any known Pacific harbor I regard the Hondius sketch, not as a serious attempt to carry out a description given either by Drake or by any member of the crew; merely an illustrator's design to accompany the verbiage of "*The World Encompassed*," published in 1628, the only account of the voyage narrating these incidents.

Bancroft, after studying many early maps that were supposed to delineate this coast, supports the view of Hale that the Hondius sketch of the Portus is an imaginary reproduction intended to illustrate the text accompanying the description given in "*The World Encompassed*."

I have not found a single map of the California coast (with the exception of the Vizcaino map) of earlier date than 1769 bearing the slightest indication of having been founded on anything but the narratives still extant and the imagination of the map maker. This map [Hondius] like all others, represents Drake's port as a good bay in about 38° of latitude; all the rest is purely imaginary. For like reasons I cannot agree with another able student [Dwinelle] of California History who finds proof in the maps given by Hale that Drake anchored in Bodega Bay. I do not object very strongly to the conclusion, but I find no proof, or even evidence in the maps.

This exception is notable inasmuch as the map drawn by Vizcaino bears not the slightest resemblance to any of the harbors near 38°. (*See map, page 64.*)

Davidson, in his arguments, has made little use of Dudley's B: DI NUOVA ALBION nor does he attempt to maintain that Drake's Bay carries out Dudley's description "Il Porto Bonissimo" which, freely rendered, means "The Best of Harbors." This designation he applies to the Estero Liman-

*In Bancroft's  
opinion all  
maps are  
diagrammatic*

*History of California,  
Vol. I, page 88*

*Davidson relies  
upon his nau-  
tical experience  
for his selection  
of the Drake  
harbor*

tour. Evidently some one did attempt to change the original shape of this bay and to enlarge its size. Davidson states:

The only detail on the chart bearing upon the present investigation is at the "B: di Noua Albion" just north of 38°. The Bay is thirteen or fourteen miles in diameter, east and west; and the opening is eight and a half miles wide. On the northeastern shore there is the opening of an Estero and on the inside of the eastern shore is the representation of a mountain. The bay is the exact counterpart of the Portus Novae Albionis of Hondius, and is seen in relation to its coast line, but on a scale about one-half.

. . . In this manuscript chart this great projecting cape is denominated "La Punta" and although crudely drawn its relation to the general coast and to the bay are promptly recognized. Certain details are wanting; the projection of the eastern promontory of the Head has been overlooked or wholly subordinated, while the higher eastern shores of the bay have been approached to the Punta. . . . The use of the two terms Baja and Porto, naturally suggests whether Dudley meant the term "Il Port<sup>o</sup> Boniss<sup>o</sup>", to apply to the Estero Liman-tour or to the anchorage of Drake. Drake must have seen the Indians entering and leaving this estero and it is quite likely that his boats examined it. He may have considered it a very good harbor for boats, but his vessel could not have entered it except at the highest tide and smooth water.

In addition to this Hondius map which was used by Hale, Dwinelle, and Davidson as specifically referring to Drake, and by Dwinelle and Davidson as proof of their various contentions, Davidson has advanced other arguments, principally based on his personal acquaintance with this coast line and his nautical experiences.

Further, Davidson asserted that this nautical knowledge peculiarly fitted him for comprehending the problems that faced Drake and that he was able, for this reason, to elucidate Drake's mental concepts and to follow his course when he beheld this coast line.

According to Davidson, Drake:

had been foiled in his attempt to reach home by a northern route; he could not return by the Magellan Strait; and we may readily believe there was suppressed and even open discontent in the incongruous, closely packed company on his ship, only to be appreciated and understood by those who have made long sea voyages. Moreover, the farther south he ventured the less favorable would be the summer winds off the California coast for his voyage across the Pacific Ocean.

Unquestionably Davidson is right in suggesting that some port where Drake could land, clean the foul bottom of his ship, and refit his vessel for its voyage across an unknown ocean was desirable; yet there was nothing contained in any of the accounts of this voyage which indicated that, at this particular time, there was necessity for finding a "faire and good baye," because of the disaffection of his officers, or by reason of the mutinous conduct of his crew.

Following the trend of the coast line to Bodega and with his landfall on Mount Tamalpais . . . he was steering to the south-eastward well inside the eastern part of Point Reyes Head. . . . It would have been a rational inference in him to believe he might find a harbor of refuge under the outlying land and head. . . .

If he was close enough to Bodega Head to judge of the probability of it (and I assume that he was before changing his course) there was nothing large or impressive about it. . . . The land two or three miles inside of Bodega Head, is about six hundred feet high but at five miles distance he would be fairly able to make out the characteristic feature of the Head on account of the low lying lands adjacent, the large lagoons inside the Head, and the low sandspit forming the southern boundary of this lagoon. He might reasonably conclude there was an extensive bay to the northeastward, but that Bodega head was guarded by dangers. . . . Granting that Drake saw the drawbacks at Bodega Bay patent to all seamen, and having Point Reyes Head looming up and stretching well to seaward, it seems to me that he could arrive at but one conclusion: to steer for the western and highest part of Point Reyes and to seek shelter under its southern and leeward side.

This course as laid down by Davidson is the result of his own conception as to the track sailed by Drake. It is purely imaginary and nothing can be found in either narrative on which it can be based: "From 48. in which height now we were to 38. we found the land by coasting along it to be but low and reasonable plaine: . . . In 38. deg. and 30. min. we fell with a convenient and fit harborough."

Apparently Davidson was not familiar with the fact that the sand-spit at the entrance to Bodega Bay had formed in historical times and that when Drake visited the coast it was probably free from this obstruction.

Bodega is a harbor of refuge more frequently sought, even at the present day, than is Drake's Bay, for it offers better protection from the south and west winds.

*Davidson  
psycho-analyzes  
Drake*

*Identification &c.,  
page 27*

*Davidson traces  
the track of the  
Golden Hinde*

Davidson thus dismisses the pretensions of Bodega Bay as a possible landing place for Drake:

Bodega Bay, although of limited area, affords a good shelter for small vessels beating against the summer northwester; but it is not a conspicuous place from the offing, and it is far inside of the long projecting head of Point Reyes.

Davidson's judgment as to what Drake as a pilot would have done thus circumstanced, follows:

*Identification &c.,  
page 28*

When he reached the western point of this cape he saw the nearest high shore to the eastward of the line parallel with the southern face of the Head ten miles distant, with every indication to the nautical eye of a deep recession of the shore to the northward. Instinctively he felt that he had reached the anxiously sought haven.

Having "instinctively" found this "faire and good Baye with a good wind to enter the same," Drake rested content and sought no further, although the great "Gulf of the Farallones" lay spread out before him. According to Davidson, who as a pilot so fully enters into Drake's psychological inhibitions and interprets his innermost and subconscious mental concepts on which he based his actions, Drake turned and sought safety under the projecting Head of Point Reyes. According to Davidson, his "nautical eye" made no note of the Farallones or took heed of the incurving shores of the great gulf to the south.

*Ibid, page 28*

He rounded the projecting Head probably at a less distance than one mile, and he had in clear view the northwest Farallones. . . . When sailing under the Head to the eastward, and conning the long high seaboard to the southeastward, he could not know by any power less than divination that a great transverse break existed in the high, rocky, compact shore which stretched twenty-four miles hence to the narrow cleft of the Golden Gate. . . . The white cliffs opening on the port hand, as his ship sailed with a smooth sea parallel with the southern face of the Head, may well have been considered a good omen and a reminder of his native shores. The soundings of his chart prove that he kept his lead going as he approached his anchorage.

It is known that Drake did keep a log-book. It is equally well known that this has been lost and Davidson's assumption that these figures, found on the Dudley chart, but missing in the *PORTUS NOVAE ALBIONIS* which is his main reliance in this map argument, necessarily is faulty. They could not truly represent the soundings that would be

found three hundred years later along a shore line that changes by reason of ocean deposits.

Following the track of Drake, two other British navigators sailed over this course, neither of whom agreed with the findings of Davidson. Vancouver, in 1793, visited this coast and, as shown by his charts, surveyed it carefully. He pronounced against both Bodega and Drake's Bay as being safe harbors. He thus refers to Bodega:

This point is formed of low steep cliffs, and when seen from the south has the appearance of an island, but is firmly connected with the main land. To the east the land retires and forms a small islet, apparently favorable to anchorage; it has a flat rock, on which the water broke, in its entrance, and has not any other visible danger excepting that of being much exposed to the south and s.e. winds.

His opinion of Drake's Bay was less flattering:

About nine next morning we passed Point de los Reyes. . . . This is one of the most conspicuous promontories southward from Cape Flattery, and cannot easily be mistaken; when seen from the north, or south, at the distance of five or six leagues, it appears insular owing to its projecting into the sea, and the land behind it being less high than usual near the coast; but the interior country preserved a more lofty appearance, although these mountains extended in a direction further from the coast than those we had already noticed. . . . Southward of this point the shore, composed of low white cliffs, takes for about a league, nearly an eastern direction, and there forms the north point of a bay, extending a little distance to the northward, which is entirely open, and much exposed to the south and s.e. winds. . . . According to the Spaniards this is the Bay in which Sir Francis Drake anchored; however safe he might then have found it, yet at this season of the year it promised us little shelter or security.

Bancroft, in discussing this statement of Vancouver, denies that the cove under Point Reyes was the Spanish selection for the bay in which Drake anchored:

Vancouver . . . understood the Spaniards to be of this opinion. Yet I find no evidence that this was ever the prevailing one. The Spanish tradition was very strong against new San Francisco; but was not pronounced as between old San Francisco and Bodega, favoring, however, the latter.

Beechey, misunderstanding Vancouver's reference to Drake's Bay, after approaching Point Reyes with its white cliffs, states:

They appear on the eastern side of a bay too exposed to authorize the conjecture of Vancouver, that it is the same in which Sir Francis refitted his vessel.

*Vancouver and  
Beechey sail into  
the Golden Gate*

*Vancouver's Voyage,*  
Vol. I, page 428

*Ibid*, page 429

*History of California,*  
Vol. I, page 87, note

*Beechey's South  
Pacific Voyage,*  
Vol. I, page 343

*Beechey describes  
the approach  
to the Bay of  
San Francisco*

Beechey, in his sailing directions, comments as follows on the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco:

Ships bound to San Francisco from the northward . . . should endeavour to make Punta de los Reyes, a bold and conspicuous headland, without any danger lying off it sufficiently to endanger a ship. In clear weather when running for the land before the latitude is known, or the Punta can be distinguished, its situation may be known by a table hill terminating the range that passes at the back of Bodega. If ships are not too far off, they will see, at the same time, San Bruno [Point Pedro]. . . . The Farallones are two clusters of rocks, which, in consequence of the shoals about them, are extremely dangerous. . . . When inside the Farallones, the position of the entrance to San Francisco may be known by the land receding considerably between the table-hill already mentioned, and San Bruno Hill, which, at a distance, appears to terminate the ridge extending from Santa Cruz to the northward.

Vancouver's description of the approach to the Bay of San Francisco shows appreciation of its location:

*Vancouver's Voyage*  
page 431

We had approached by two in the afternoon to within a small distance of the entrance into the port of St. Francisco, and found a rapid tide setting against us. . . . Although favored with a pleasant breeze which impelled us at the rate of four or five knots, it availed us no more than just to preserve our station against the ebbtide setting out of this port. We did not advance till four o'clock, and then but slowly. . . . The main channel appeared to be free of obstruction and is of sufficient width for any vessel to turn in. Its northern shore composed of steep, high, rocky cliffs, is the boldest; the southern side is much lower, though its southeastern point is formed of steep rocky cliffs . . . which with the Farallones render this point too conspicuous to be mistaken. Having passed the inner points of entrance we found ourselves in a very spacious sound, which had the appearance of containing a variety of as excellent harbors as all the known world affords.

Beechey also found it difficult to enter the Port of San Francisco without a good wind.

*Beechey's Voyage*  
page 345

The tide was unfortunately against us, and the swell propelled the ship just sufficiently fast for her to steer without gaining any ground so that we remained in this situation several hours. At length a breeze sprung up, and we entered the port.

. . . The Port of San Francisco does not show itself to advantage, until after the Fort is passed, when it breaks upon the view, and forcibly impresses the spectator with the magnificence of the harbour. He then beholds a broad sheet of water, sufficiently extensive to contain all the British Navy, with convenient coves and anchorage in every part, and around, a country diversified with hill and dale, partly wooded and partly disposed in pasture of the richest kind, abounding in herds of cattle.



## The Harbor of St. Francis

51

Davidson, in addition to his argument that a seaman of Drake's ability approaching 38° would necessarily choose Drake's Bay as fulfilling every requirement that a harbor should possess for beaching, cleaning and repairing his vessel, denies the probability that either Bodega or San Francisco bay had been selected by Drake.

Davidson gives the following reasons for excluding Bodega:

In my remarks upon the landfall of Drake in the latitude of 38° I have given my reasons against his seeking an anchorage in Bodega. In the description of the Portus Novae Albionis I have shown its non-agreement with Bodega Bay. I may add one or two suggestions. In the latter anchorage the vessel would not have been sufficiently protected, and therefore Drake would not have been so successful in repairing his ship, which was evidently done without risk or difficulty. He would not have been able to see the white cliffs which are so peculiar a feature of Drake's Bay, and on account of which he named the country. He could not have seen the Northwest Farallones and the Southern Farallones from Bodega Head on account of its peculiar position, and then he would not have known of the vast herds of sea lions on the southermost inlet. Without information of the safety of approaching them, from Indians who frequented them, he would have avoided them. He could not readily and safely have travelled into the country, and found thousands of elks. He would not have been within reach of the Nicasio Indians; and it is very doubtful if there ever was any considerable body of Indians at Bodega Head.

These statements are the foundations for several other arguments advanced, especially that the White Cliffs near Point Reyes Head were proof that Drake anchored in the cove under it. White cliffs are a marked feature of the California Coast. Those at Gold Beach are especially striking and when these unduly loom they become an excellent storm signal for passing mariners. They are found in Bodega Bay, and Dwinelle advanced this as an argument in support of his own theory. The approach to the Bay of San Francisco was so conspicuously marked by a white cliff at its Fort Point entrance that it received the name "Punta del cantel Blanco" (Point of the steep white rock) given it by the first Spanish explorers. To urge these cliffs as guiding marks for Drake's harbor does not add to the strength of either Dwinelle's or Davidson's hypothesis. Nothing in either of the narratives that relate the

*Davidson's  
arguments  
against  
Bodega Bay*

*Identification &c.,  
page 54*

*White Cliffs  
mark the Pacific  
shore-line*

reason for Drake's selection of this name for the new territory he annexed can be so construed as to make it a necessary conclusion that the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS was so marked; it is merely an identification of that coast line "which lies towards the sea." In other words, it is the ocean shore which marks and characterizes their adopted New England.

Nor is Davidson's argument that Drake "could not have seen the Northwest Farallones and the Southern Farallones from Bodega Head on account of its peculiar position, and then he would not have known of the vast herds of sea-lions on the southernmost inlet," bear the slightest relation to anything contained in the original narratives. These "Islands of Saint James" are mentioned only to state that here they obtained abundant supplies of seals and birds. How they knew of these stores of food is not explained. Davidson's hypothesis that Drake learned of them through the "Indians who frequented them," whose only canoes were grass-built *balsas* unfit for ocean navigation, seems an unduly imaginary conclusion.

It is not a violent supposition to believe, even had Drake selected the cove under Point Reyes, that he would also have closely investigated this outspreading gulf and have examined the islands bounding it, and have studied their possibilities. That he did know that these islands were the habitat of seals and birds is certain; otherwise he would not have delayed the collection of these supplies for this last most necessary act as he left NOVA ALBION.

Davidson rests a minor part of his proof that Drake could have landed only at Drake's Bay on inductive reasoning combined with a study of Drake's psychological ego, and from these assumed facts he has judged that no navigator with Drake's experience and capacity as a pilot could have come to a different conclusion. While Davidson edited the "Coast Pilot," and was familiar with the problems Drake was attempting to solve in his search for a safe harbor, even so, to the lay mind, it seems that the conclusions drawn reflected Davidson's own judgment rather than that of Drake. Undoubtedly Davidson possessed theoretical fa-

miliarity with the scientific questions which made him a valuable editor of the "*Coast Pilot*," for the reason that he was at liberty to draw conclusions and make suggestions without endangering the craft that he handled.

The main proof that Drake did not enter the Bay of San Francisco, which is Davidson's contention, is based on theoretical arguments and on bald statements easily disproved. These are:

From Trinidad to Bodega Head or to Point Reyes, Drake was absolutely disappointed in his search, and in his increasing anxiety he would certainly seek for shelter under the lee of Point Reyes before he went further. Here he found a "faire and good bay with a goode winde" to enter the same and he was satisfied.

From Point Reyes he could not see the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, nor a sign of an harbor in that direction, because they are so effectively marked [masked?]; therefore he was in no need of searching farther for the unknown, and probably faring worse. There is not a navigator similarly situated who would have done otherwise than he did. Had he reached San Francisco entrance, he would have been rash to have ventured over the four fathom bank, and to have entered the narrow throat of the Golden Gate, with the high, black, frowning head and current rips of Point Bonita, the rocky islets around the cliffs of Point Lobos, and the sudden narrowing of the channel to one mile between Fort Point and Point Diablo, and the rocks and islets beyond.

The narrator would have given a graphic description of so unique an entrance and so magnificent an inland sea. It would have astonished every soul upon the ship. From San Francisco he could not have been impressed by the white cliffs that were every day before his eyes from his anchorage, because in the vicinity of the Golden Gate they do not exist. The Farallones would not have been visible "a little without their harbor" because they are below the horizon of the Golden Gate; and even had he left his anchorage he could not have reached them with the summer winds unless he made several tacks toward Point Reyes, and that we are sure he would not have done. But at Drake's Bay he had learned from the natives that the islets in view from the entrance to his anchorage abounded in sea lions, and he visited them for fresh provisions without going out of his course. In San Francisco Bay he could have easily laid in ample store of sea lion meat from the seal rocks off Point Lobos.

Davidson's assumption that Drake approached this coast "steering to the southeastward well inside the eastern part of Point Reyes" and, rounding the Head, dropped anchor in this cove, and was so "satisfied" with it that he did not

*Davidson  
rejects the Bay of  
San Francisco as  
Drake's harbor*

*Identification &c.,  
page 56*

*Canizares enters  
the Golden Gate  
in a dug-out*

look farther, justifies him in stating that the Bay of San Francisco could not have been seen from this anchorage.

The oblique coast line and the jutting Duxberry point conceal the bay recess but not the outer entrance. That Drake did so approach and that he made no examination of the group of rocky islands seventeen miles away, or of other striking topographical details of the Gulf of the Farallones and that all his information regarding the birds and seals inhabiting these islands came from Indians, or that on his outward journey he could not have visited them "without going out of his course"—for this particular group lies 17 miles to the south of Drake's Bay and 24 miles due west of the Golden Gate—cannot be substantiated by any statements contained in the Narratives.

Had he approached these islets and even cursorily examined the shore line from the Farallones, he would have seen the cliffs closing in to Points Lobos and Bonita, two and one-half miles apart, and the funnel-shaped entrance leading into San Francisco Bay which at the narrowest part is one mile wide. There is no obstruction that prevents either a full view of the outer bay, or the entrance of a vessel into the inner harbor, even though, according to both Vancouver and Beechey, "a good winde to enter the same" seems to be a necessary pre-requisite during an ebb tide.

Another argument advanced by Davidson was that the tide rips off Point Bonita were sufficiently terrifying to prevent a navigator such as Drake, who was known for his daring spirit of adventure, from entering an open and unobstructed port. This is a presumptuous statement, considering the fact that the first historical entrance into this bay was made by a "dugout" hollowed from a redwood tree. This dug-out was built by Ayala on the Santa Cruz beach to use as a launch. As he approached the Golden Gate in the SAN CARLOS, on August 4, 1775, he sent forward his lieutenant, Canizares, in this launch to explore the bay. Those in this canoe, which could not be considered seaworthy, were not appalled by the "narrow throat of the Golden Gate, with the high, black, frowning head and current rips of Point Bonita, the rocky islets around the

cliffs of Point Lobos, and the sudden narrowing of the channel to one mile."

Canizares reported no particular obstructions or unusual dangers encountered and, for the night, anchored near North Beach. On the following day, August 5th, Ayala entered in the SAN CARLOS.

Chapman reports:

Stopping long enough at Monterey to build a launch by hollowing out the trunk of a redwood tree, Ayala set sail again on July 27th.; eight days later, on Aug. 4th. he arrived off the entrance to San Francisco Bay. Early next day he sent Canizares inside with the launch to look for an anchorage, but when Canizares did not return all this day for the currents and tides of the Golden Gate had proved too strong, Ayala resolved to attempt the entrance himself. During the evening of the 5th. of August, therefore, the little SAN CARLOS successfully passed through the strait into the famous port of the West, and anchored near the present North Beach. Canizares and Ayala between them had attained the honor of making the first recorded entrance into the Bay of San Francisco by way of the Golden Gate.

The statement regarding the visibility of the Farallones from the Golden Gate is an equally specious argument. "*The World Encompassed*," our sole authority on these Islands of St. James, did not say that they were "visible a little without their harbor," as Davidson intimates by his peculiarly worded sentence. What this account did say was "Not far without the harbrough did lye certain islands." While their visibility is no criterion for selection, it happens that when the visibility is fair these Farallones can be seen from the Municipal golf links and from the boulevard along the Ocean Shore.

The fact that Drake left his anchorage without refilling his larder and did stop at the Farallones is proof that he knew that he could obtain from them such supplies as he needed for his homeward voyage.

The most remarkable argument advanced by Davidson against the Bay of San Francisco being the harbor selected by Drake is that the GOLDEN HINDE could not have left the Bay of San Francisco and have sailed to the Farallones in twenty-four hours, the time stated, "without making several tacks toward Point Reyes," which Davidson is sure Drake would not have done. The GOLDEN HINDE

*The Golden  
Hinde could not  
have sailed from  
San Francisco  
Bay to the Faral-  
lones in 24 hours*

*History of California*  
page 279

*The Golden Hind  
stocks its larder  
with seals and  
fowls from the  
Farallones*

sailed July 23 and on July 24 "fell" in with one of the "Islands of St. James" on which was "bountifull and great store of seals and birds." . . . "We departed again the day following, viz. July 25." All vessels sailing for the Orient pass directly by these islands. Our pilot boats daily reach and pass them, even if it be necessary occasionally to tack. Most sailing vessels find this a necessary procedure and Davidson's assertion that the GOLDEN HINDE would not do so is evidence that, with all his theoretical knowledge, he was not a practical seaman.

Master of all sciences, "Geodosy, Astronomy, Geography and Navigation with opportunities that will not again fall to the lot of one man," nevertheless Davidson would not have been received into the fellowship of our bay pilots if, in the rigid examination that is necessary to qualify, he had made such assertions—a thing that is a part of their day's work.

Davidson expresses surprise because the entrance to the bay did not excite more enthusiasm. It must be remembered that no maps or topographical details have come down to us that are official. All that we have is the narration of what was seen, and of those events that especially interested these sailors in the HARBOR OF ST. FRANCIS, not details such as a log-book would furnish.

Davidson's assertion that the interior country was more accessible from Drake's Bay than from Bodega is an assumption not supported by topographical facts. The long arm of Tomales Bay would have thrown their exploring party far to the South and they would necessarily have followed the Lagunitas water-shed over the Tamalpias foot hills overlooking the Bay of San Francisco.

There are two facts that Davidson could not have taken into consideration, except on the theory that Drake landed in Drake's Bay and there remained, exploring only that country north of the Lagunitas water-shed.

The first is, had Drake observed the shore line either of the Farallones or of the southern bay shores he would have found every evidence of the exit of a large river. Even had he not approached the shore, there is lodged on these

islands the *debris* cast out by the disemboguing Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. Not only do the bases of these cliffs hold tangible evidence of the river's exit but that expanse of water separating these islands from the mainland, known as the "Gulf of the Farallones," is a legible sheet of water on which the sailor reads the presence of an entering stream. Invariably there is a change of color due to the shoaling and mixing of the ocean blue with the muddier river water.

Another matter that has impressed me, although in stating it I am following the psychological method adopted by Davidson—which I strongly disapprove—is the route Drake and his companions would have taken for their interior explorations, provided they had landed in Drake's Bay. It is probable that they would have followed the canyon of the Lagunitas creek and detoured along the canyon sides. They were young, active and for months had been cramped in their small ship. Many of the 85 sailors must have looked up inquiringly at the over-hanging Tamalpais and it is certain that some of them would have climbed to its top. The marvelous bay view both from the top of Tamalpais and from the eastern ridges leading up to it, is well known. It is unbelievable, had they viewed the spreading sheet of water below, that they would not have made further investigations and have explored its boundaries.

Another argument advanced by Davidson as proof that Drake did not land in the Bay of San Francisco, is a legend which he has, by hearsay, adopted:

Among the Nicasio Indians of the Nicasio Valley, which lies fifteen miles to the eastward of Drake's Bay, there is said to have been a tradition to the effect that Drake anchored in this Bay, and landed on these shores; that some of his crew deserted and lived among the Indians; and that he gave the natives some seeds for planting; and among other things some hard ship biscuits, which they innocently planted in the hope of similar bread growing therefrom. He also left among them a dog and some pigs, and it is said the early Spaniards report that when they came to this region the country was full of wild hogs.

The conclusion Davidson draws he later formulates:

In San Francisco Bay he [Drake] could not have come in contact with the Nicasio Indians, whose traditions locate him in Drake's Bay; and

*Gulf of the Farallones gives evidence of the entrance of a large river*

*Identification &c.,  
page 35*

*Nicasio Indian  
legends confirm*

*Davidson's  
selection*

had he been in the Bay of San Francisco, such an event would have come down by Indian tradition to the Founders of the Mission.

It is difficult to understand why one familiar with the ignorant and unlettered Diggers could have urged the possibility of such troglodytes having passed down, through eight generations, the name of Francis Drake, or that they could have differentiated these particular English sailors they met on the *GOLDEN HINDE* from the Spaniards who occasionally stopped either at Bodega or Drake's Bay, especially the shipwrecked sailors of Cermeño who also lived on shore for a time following the wreck of the *SAN AGUSTIN* fifteen years after Drake is said to have been there.

Nor does the story of the pigs landed by Drake overtax Davidson's credulity. That the *GOLDEN HINDE*, overcrowded and loaded to her full capacity, after a three years cruise with oftentimes an empty larder, would carry pigs for free distribution is a remarkable fact. If true, it proves nothing as to the bay Drake selected.

An argument based on Indian evidence, in a peculiar way, demolishes the possibility that Drake landed in the cove under Point Reyes Head. There is historical proof, if Drake did land near latitude 38°, that this particular "Drake's Bay" was not the one near which he encamped for, possibly owing to Drake's report to Queen Elizabeth with the contents of which Mendoza familiarized himself, King Philip sent an exploring expedition with orders to survey the coast adjacent to this country claimed by the English. In 1595, fifteen years after Drake's return, he sent the *SAN AGUSTIN*, under the command of the pilot Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, to explore this coast. Cermeño left the Philippine Islands July 5th, 1595, and on Nov. 4th, after coasting southward from Cape Mendocino, he made a landing either directly under Point Reyes Head or in the Drake Estero.

Cermeño's report of this voyage and landing, and his description of the natives he found, was made to King Philip and is now in the Archives in Seville. Prof. C. E. Chapman, in his "*History of California*," quotes from this report but, for a fuller translation, I am indebted to Henry R.



Wagner. That portion relating to this coast, together with valuable comments and notes of reference, was published in the Quarterly issued by the California Historical Society.

In Mr. Wagner's opinion, the description given of the location of the Farallones and other topographical features, make it certain that Cermeño anchored in the large Bay south of Point Reyes.

Adopting the Wagner translation of the Cermeño report:

Running along a musket shot from the land, we saw a point which bore northwest, and entering by this we saw that there was a large bay. . . . Having anchored in this bay, we saw in the middle of it three small islands which bore south-southwest, and to the south a small island of half a league in size. . . . This bay is in  $38\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ , and the islands which are in its mouth are in  $38\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ , and from one point of the bay to the other there may be a distance of 25 leagues.

*Cermeño explores  
and names the  
Port of Saint  
Francisco*

H. R. Wagner  
Translation.

Wagner believes that these latitudes are too high. He further states:

From the account given of his entrance to Drake's Bay, it is apparent that the vessel did not anchor behind the small point, but somewhere further east, very likely off the mouth of one of the small arroyos where at present there is a pool of fresh water.

Cermeño gave to this bay the name "San Francisco." It is stated in the DECLARATION:

On the 7th. the day the captain landed, he took possession of the land and port, which he named the Bay of San Francisco. Fray Francisco de la Concepcion of the order of Barefoot Friars baptized it.

Cermeño anchored here because, apparently, he could from this situation better carry out his plans for exploration. It was necessary to build a small vessel for penetration of the indentations of the coast. This, probably, he did not care to attempt in the SAN AGUSTIN. Cermeño states:

In order to see the character of the land and to put in hand what was contemplated, namely, the building of a launch to prosecute the discovery, I sent in the ship's boat twenty-two men, seventeen of them armed with arquebuses and three with shields, and the ensign and the sergeant. I went ashore with it and landed on the beach, where I found near by, many Indians—men, women and children—who had their dwellings here. These were pits made in the sand and covered with grass, in the manner of the Chichimecos Indians. They had bows and arrows, and we could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else.

*The Indians of  
Drake's Bay,  
for the first time  
are visited by  
white men*

The reception accorded to these Spaniards was markedly hostile. They received no such worshipful greetings as were accorded to Drake and his sailors, even though the Spanish attempted to pacify them.

During the same day the Captain with his men, going inland about half a league, came upon a band of Indians in a warlike attitude, who, as soon as they saw the Spaniards, began prancing around and dancing a war dance and began to advance to where the Spaniards were, and having looked them over stopped to examine the men. But two of the Indians from the beach with whom the Spaniards had made friends, and who were along, spoke to them, and soon they all lowered their arms and put them on the ground and came toward the Spaniards.

It is further related in the DECLARATION that these Indians had never before seen Europeans:

The men in marching order went to a rancheria about an arquebus shot from the beach, where there were about fifty adult Indians looking on with much wonderment in seeing people never before seen by them.

Davidson was familiar with the facts of the SAN AGUSTIN's wreck and Cermefio's stay in this same port that he selected for Drake's residence. He thus comments:

*Identification &c.,  
page 34*

There can be very little doubt that when the SAN AGUSTIN was stranded on the Farallones and wrecked, and her cargo landed in the vicinity of Drake's Anchorage, in 1595, the captain pilot and crew must have learned that Drake's vessel had been there. Only sixteen years had elapsed, and the incident was of too wonderful a character to the uncivilized natives to be soon forgotten. It was less than twenty-four years after Drake's anchoring that Vizcaino sought refuge under the Eastern Point of Point Reyes, and his chief pilot Bolanos, who had been with Cermefio, recognized the locality. From the respect paid by the Indians to Drake, it is more than probable that at the time of these later visits the post set up by Drake when he took possession still existed. But as his name was heartily execrated by the Spaniards, they may well have destroyed all vestiges of his visit with pardonable satisfaction; the more especially to obliterate every sign of his having taken possession of the country.

This argument is worthy of a special pleader. Davidson had not the slightest foundation for his assumption that the SAN AGUSTIN was wrecked on the Farallones.

Had the SAN AGUSTIN been wrecked on the Farallones the destruction of the cargo and crew would probably have

followed for there is no safe harbor on the Farallones, nor could they have been transported to the mainland as suggested.

It was in this "Bay of San Francisco" that the *SAN AGUSTIN* was wrecked. It could not have been either on the Farallones as suggested by Davidson, or on any dangerous reef off-shore. They were able to land stores of wax and bales of silk which, later, Vizcaino made an effort to find. However, they must have lost most of their provisions, for Cermeño details his visit to the region of Tomales Bay in search of food for his famishing crew.

These natives who in 1595 are described by Cermeño as ignorant of the use of knives or any other tool of iron, who had never before seen a white man, could not have been the same Indians who, in 1579, so worshipfully welcomed Drake. Fifteen years could not have wiped out the memory of Drake's former visit nor could all evidence of Drake's stay have been destroyed. Drake landed his cargo, built a fort, and he must have left such tangible evidence of his stay that it could not have been obliterated.

The assertion that "Vizcaino sought refuge" is equally misleading. Vizcaino anchored there that he might further explore the harbor, also that he might seek for the jettisoned cargo of the *SAN AGUSTIN*. Nor is it probable that in an official report to his home government Vizcaino would have concealed the fact that this was the harbor occupied by Drake. Rather, he would have related all that was of interest to his government. Nor does Davidson comment on his reasons for assuming that the Indians remembered Drake while no comment was made either on the wreck or the hostile attitude assumed by the Indians "in seeing people never before seen by them."

Cermeño is positive in his statement that they were the first white men that these Indians had seen; he found nothing to excite his curiosity or to arouse his suspicion of Drake's recent visit. For, had there been trace of the handiwork of the artisans who repaired Drake's ship, Cermeño would have observed it.

*The San Agustin  
was wrecked  
in the Bay of  
Saint Francisco*

No evidence of  
Drake's  
anchorage  
reported by  
Cermeno

Neither pigs were reported nor was there ethnological evidence of adventures with the overfriendly and worshipping Indian women. Surely, had there been any desertions from the English crew, Fletcher, so verbose even of the minute incidents that happened between the sailors and the Indians, would have made some note of such an occurrence. *Mestizos* would have been met with and association with white men would have been evident in ways innumerable. Some remains of the "faire and great poste" to which a "peece of sixe pence of current English money" had been nailed, as well as some remains of the fort Drake built to house his sailors and goods during the time his ship was beached, would have been discovered and, necessarily, reported.

Sixty-five years after Magellan's stay in the Port of St. Julian, Drake found the gibbet from which Magellan hung his deserters, with many other evidences of his occupation; also he suffered from the enmities that had been engendered owing to the cruelties that had been inflicted by the Magellan sailors on the native Indians.

Some remains of the ship reported by John Drake to have been abandoned in the port would have been found.

It is known that Drake carried with him carpenters and blacksmiths and the evidences of such handicraft could not have been obliterated in the elapsed fifteen years.

There is a possibility that the SAN AGUSTIN, before her wreck, did make some explorations of this Puerto Francisco. If so, Cermeno must have known that an inner port existed, even though the cove under Point Reyes Head had been selected for building his launch because of trees that covered the uplands.

The sub-pilot on the SAN AGUSTIN was Francisco de Volanos, who became the chief pilot of the Vizcaino voyage made seven years later. It was Volanos who brought Vizcaino into this Puerto Francisco for the purpose of more complete exploration; also, specifically, to salvage a part of the cargo of the SAN AGUSTIN.

Vencgas, who relates the Vizcaino voyage, gives the details:

Another reason which induced the Capitana to put into Puerto Francisco was to take a survey of it and to see if anything was to be found of the SAN AGUSTIN, which, in the year 1595, had been sent from the Philippines to survey the coast of California; . . . but was driven ashore in this harbour by the violence of the winds. Among others on board the SAN AGUSTIN was the pilot Francisco Volanos, who was also chief pilot of this squadron. He was acquainted with this country and affirmed that they had left ashore a great quantity of wax and several chests of silk and the general was desirous of putting in here to see if there was any vestiges of the ship or the cargo. The Capitana came to anchor behind a point of land called La Puente de los Reyes, but no people were sent ashore that the ship might be in readiness for the tender.

*Volanos revisits  
Puerto Francisco  
as chief pilot  
of Vizcaino*

Because their tender had sailed north without following them into the harbor, they were compelled to leave on the following day without making the intended investigation. For this reason a survey was not made. There seems to have been a fatality that prevented knowledge of this coast line from being disseminated. Nothing is known of the details of the discoveries made by the SAN AGUSTIN nor do we know the date of her wreck or other detail except the fact, casually mentioned by Cermeño, that he landed workmen here to build a launch. It was mainly by means of this vessel that they succeeded in reaching New Spain. Necessarily these most essential details were reported, but in some way they were lost.

The most puzzling of all questions, one that seems unanswerable, is that relating to the exploration of the Puerto Francisco by Cermeño. It is a curious commentary on the acumen of a reputable Spanish navigator that he visited an open port, spent days or weeks exploring it and did not find the open throat leading into the gullet of the inner harbor.

It is certain that Vizcaino reported a large inner port supplied by a river under Point Reyes Head and this information must have been given to him by Volanos for, according to the log of this voyage, no survey was made. Even had he not reported his findings, his sub-pilot Volanos, who later visited it on a second exploring expedition, necessarily would have been equally well informed and could have delineated its conformation to Vizcaino.



assertions made and deductions drawn either from his experience as the editor of the "*Coast Pilot*," or from the knowledge gained by his many voyages along the coast.

Granting Davidson's capacity as a pilot, grave fault must be found with his historical data, as far as it concerns Drake.

To Julian Corbetts' assertion that:

The romantic fascination of Drake's career as a corsair and explorer began, very shortly after his death, to overshadow his work as an admiral and a statesman, but in his own time this was not so.

Davidson takes issue with Corbett and asserts that Drake is merely "a pirate or buccaneer like Oxenham, Morgan or Kidd."

Francis Drake was the "Captaine-General" of Freebooters; on the western coast of South America he "and his men pirats" had loaded his vessel with a fabulous amount of fine wares from Asia, precious stones, church ornaments, gold, plate, "and so much silver as did ballast the GOULDEN HINDE". . . .

The expedition of 1577-1580 to the South Sea was made up of "gentlemen saylars," drawn together by the love of adventure and plunder; "a sort of cogginge and lyeing knaves," a "companye of desperate bankwrouptes that could not lyve in their contrye without the spoyle of that as others had gotten by the swete of theyr browes". . . .

Old Thomas Fuller in his "*Worthies of England*" judged Drake somewhat more kindly:

This our Captain was a religious man, towards God and his houses, generally sparing churches where he came, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true to his word, and merciful to those who were under him, hating nothing so much as Idleness.

Davidson does not give Drake the credit of possessing independent knowledge of the South Sea, or that he obtained his information otherwise than by robbing the Spanish galleons of their maps and sailing directions. He also gives a clue as to the manner in which Drake obtained his knowledge of the cove under Point Reyes.

We believe his proposed attempt to find the Northeast passage to the Atlantic was a bald subterfuge. The galleons had made their return voyage to the landfall of Cape Mendocino, and then followed the coast southward; they had found what Cabrillo had ventured under Point Reyes and Drake utilized their knowledge.

Davidson  
harshly estimates  
the character  
of Drake

Francis Drake on the  
Northern Coast of  
California, page 44

*Ibid*, page 45

*Francis Drake,  
the Man*

He was not a discoverer in any honest acceptation of the word, but in exigencies of his famous voyage he was the first European who saw the coast of Oregon [Ferrelo reached lat. 44 in his 1543 voyage] and anchored under its shores; he was the first European who anchored in the bay where he refitted his ship, and took possession of New Albion. Californians therefore have a pardonable pride in knowing the exact geographical position of this landing.

Francis Drake, the man, as exhibited in the depositions of those whom he captured, is painted in kindly colors. Their statements to the Spanish authorities who interrogated them, relate no dishonorable act or deed unworthy of an honorable enemy, and such Drake claimed to be.

Indignant because of an unfair advantage taken and provoked by the loss of all that he had accumulated, Drake attempted to collect what he believed was due him. He seized all the treasures that belonged to the Spanish government and, at times, he did not justly discriminate between state and private property. Rightly they called him "el Drago" for little escaped his devouring maw. Also, he ruled with a heavy hand. Having assumed the responsibilities that he did, a less strict disciplinarian would have failed; his own life, as well as that of those dependant on him, allowed no one to lightly disregard his orders.

Davidson's charges against the character of Drake bespeak prejudice against the greatest sailor of that time; or ignorance of the fact that, because of his experience, daring and undeniable capacity, Elizabeth chose him to assume command of a voyage that she and her inner circle of advisers had planned and financed for retaliation because of Spanish onslaughts upon English vessels that had the right to trade and sail on commercial adventures.

Davidson did not give due weight to the fact that the English navy was at that time practically non-existent, and that England's battles with Spain were fought principally by privateers armed by enterprising merchants who looked to the capture of booty from their enemies as the one source of repayment. Further, in the particular case of Drake, one principal and overpowering reason for his accepting the command offered him by Elizabeth was the desire for revenge. Only a few years previously he had been



treacherously waylaid and overwhelmed by reason of a truce that the Spanish broke which resulted in the death of many Englishmen together with the loss of much treasure and an entire navy, except for the two ships on which Drake and his commander, Hawkins, escaped.

No expedition ever sailed from England more secure in the favor of the Queen, or one better equipped for war and for exploration than was that captained by Drake. Because it was so fortunate as to end in capture and confiscation of a vast treasure, this was regarded by the standard of those days as the spoils of war, although no war had been declared. Such hostilities as were carried on between the English and Spaniards were under cover of secret assaults, not open warfare. The ship Drake sailed was furnished by the Queen and the "plott" of the voyage he was to undertake had been drawn up by her secret councillors. The Queen and this inner circle had furnished the necessary stores so that Drake was merely the captain, even though a militant one. On his return he laid no personal claim to the booty he had captured but turned it in to the Queen's treasurer who placed it in the Tower of London.

Lord Anson who, a hundred and fifty years later, captured an equally rich galleon under circumstances less justifiable, was classed neither as a "Pirate" nor as "Captain-General of free-booters": he made no accounting for the treasure he seized.

The fact that Drake was sent upon a special mission by Elizabeth, that he bore her "license" and that he merely carried out her "plott," has been fully established.

With equal assurance Davidson criticised Froude, the Historian, for presuming to pass favorable judgment on Drake's court martial and execution of Doughty; ignorant or forgetful of the fact that Doughty had betrayed his plans or "plott" and that he had fomented a mutiny among Drake's officers to prevent the English vessels from sailing through the Magellan strait.

Davidson's knowledge was not so comprehensive that he could successfully contradict these English scholars whose historical studies were their life work.

*Queen Elizabeth  
planned the  
Circumnavigation  
and "plott"  
of the voyage*

*Davidson proves  
that the Drake  
Bay climate is  
fairly described  
in The World  
Encompassed*

Davidson valiantly defended his position, both as to the Bay in which Drake anchored and the latitude he reached, against the combined opinion of Eastern and English authorities whose arguments he meets with vehement assertions and positive statements, but he offers no proof further than a reiteration of his belief, and he expresses surprise at the faulty conclusions of these writers.

From this short reiteration it will be seen that several skilled writers within the last twenty-five years claim that Drake reached the parallel of 48° or more, and that four of them have claimed he anchored in San Francisco Bay as we know it today.

Stranger still is the judgment of another authority. The Dictionary of National Biography discredits the descriptions of the climate given by the narratives, at the anchorage of Drake's Bay, within the eastern promontory of Point Reyes.

This ignorance as to the climate found at Drake's Bay furnished another argument for Davidson in his summary of the proofs that it was the landing that Drake chose.

In the Fletcherish language found in "*The World Encompassed*" in which was described the "vile, thick and stinking fogs, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gust of wind again removed it," further complaint is made regarding the weather found at their anchorage:

Appendix

During all which time notwithstanding it was the height of summer, and so neere the sun; yet were we continually visited with like nipping colds, as we had felt before: insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodices, and busie employment our necessary labors, had not sometime compelled the contrary, we could very well have contented to have kept about us still our winter clothes; yea (had our necessities suffered us) to have kept our beds; neither could we have at any time in whole fourteen days together, finde the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of the sun.

Davidson, assisted by our *vates pluvii* who so unerringly forecast our storms, has produced meteorological tables demonstrating that this account accurately describes the climate found at Drake's Bay. This seems to be his most convincing argument, for no San Franciscan can be found who will acknowledge that such a description could be rightfully applied to the Bay of San Francisco, even though Fletcher took the sting from his statement by adding: The inland we found to be far different from the shoare, a goodly country and a fruitful soil.

Nor did Davidson take kindly to the possibility that his selection of the Drake harbor was not accepted by those scholars who lacked his peculiar qualifications to pass on this anchorage. Not only had the special nature of his life-work fitted him for accurately locating the landing place, but an intensive personal study of the Government's contour map, together with the side-plan Hale had found on the Hondius map, resulted in such definitive knowledge that he could, with assurance, locate all the descriptive features contained in "*The World Encompassed*". He was able to fix the exact location of the Indian rancheria, "denoted by six houses;" he recognized in the "marching hosts" (eight in number), "large bodies of Indians"; he discovered "the representation of white cliffs"; and most convincing of all, he found "at the two crowning parts of the promontory, as shown by our Surveys, two sacrificial altars, with natives burning something on them, and raising large smokes." His familiarity with the coast convinced him that at no other point could this fortuitous combination of locations so clearly carry out the details of the Hondius side-plan, although he does not deny that far better harbors, insuring the safety of vessels there anchored, could have been found.

These details, combined with the weather conditions, left no doubt in Davidson's mind that he could definitely answer the long-debated question that no one else had satisfactorily solved and that he had discovered "the exact geographical position" where: "The GOLDEN HINDE was anchored in Drake's Bay, then hauled upon the beach on the south shore, hove down and cleaned, repaired and supplied with wood and water."

In spite of Davidson's assertions based on his individual authority, there was no difficulty either in finding or entering this wide open gate. Had other nations traversed these shores with their ships, and had not all navigation been confined to the Manilla galleons and to those that lay in wait for them farther south, these somnolent shores would have earlier waked to active life.

*Davidson discovers "the exact geographical position" where Drake landed*

*Indian tradition  
that an earth-  
quake had opened  
the Golden Gate*

As an explanation of this ignorance displayed by the Spaniards and their failure to locate this inner harbor, remarkable statements have been published. Commodore Wilkes, who visited this Bay in 1840, fathered an Indian legend to the effect that a mighty earthquake wrenched apart the shore line and opened the Golden Gate for the exit of the Sacramento. However, Wilkes was a sailor, not a geologist. Occasionally some imaginative writer has revived this legend as a fact that could explain Volano's and other Spanish explorers' failure to find this "faire and good baye," but no geologist familiar with the formations and the evidences of erosion along this coast line has alleged this theory as a possible explanation. A peculiar chain of accidents and an unbelievable lack of organized and intelligent effort to solve the riddle of the "Lost Port" are responsible for their failure to locate it, and caused the Spaniards to bore in under Point Reyes Head when they delineated it.

Equally untrue is the assertion that because of fog-banks which hang over the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, and which envelop and overcloud the Golden Gate, ships are liable to pass without noticing the opening into the inner port.

Fog does not obscure this particular portion of the Gulf of the Farallones to a greater extent than it does the entire ocean with its adjacent coast line. It is true that there are summer fogs originating in the ocean along this entire stretch of territory, owing to the warm current that flows down this coast; also that these fogs do roll in through the Golden Gate, but this occurs only when the adjacent ocean is bathed in fog. Neither are they so frequent nor so prolonged as to create a permanent veil of mist behind which the opening to this port is hidden.

At any time that Point Reyes is visible it is certain that the balance of this Puerto Francisco can be equally clearly distinguished.

According to the United States Weather Bureau the conditions prevailing in the months of June, 1920-1926, show a great majority of clear days over those cloudy and foggy.

During the seven years there were but 28 recorded as cloudy, 13 of these being due to fog. There were 66 registered as partially cloudy or foggy, known as fair, while 166 were recorded clear. This merely describes the weather observed at the registration office, Montgomery and California Streets, San Francisco. It does not fairly indicate the fog conditions prevailing at the entrance to the Golden Gate. For accurate statement of the fog-hours occurring there I have consulted the records kept by the Lighthouse service at One Mile Rock, located in the Golden Gate. These cover only the fog-hours and do not specify the daily weather conditions. Of the 720 hours in each June for this seven-year period there was an average of 80 fog-hours, the minimum being 47 for the two years 1923 and 1924, two other years, 1921 and 1922, there were registered 141 and 116 respectively. At all other hours visibility was excellent. None of the other years totalled 100 fog-hours: 640 clear hours as against 80 fog-hours gives fair visibility for the June months, or eight fair hours to one of fog.

*Fog-hours observed in June at the Lighthouse, situated on the 'One Mile Rock' in the Golden Gate*

The maps of this coast, gathered from many sources, neither resemble each other nor the actual coast indentations. Yet all of them mark Drake's anchorage at or near 38° and they indicate a diagrammatic bay near Point Reyes.

That two such capable men as Dwinelle and Davidson could have based their harbor on an undated map of unknown authenticity, and that each should draw from it proofs so positive of their individual selections, is the best evidence that this, with other such maps, was intended for, and did fit into these most unprovable generalizations. They were coveralls—not well fitting garments. Even Stillman's ground-squirrel arguments are not proofs and are equally specious as a plea for localizing the bay in which Drake anchored.

It is remarkable that this great bay was so long hidden from the Spanish explorers. A good bay was badly needed. At the end of the Manilla Voyage the scurvy sickened sailors, suffering from their long sea confinement and the physical ills due to such a protracted voyage, would have greatly

*Until 1884  
Davidson had  
chosen the Bay of  
San Francisco  
as the landing  
place of Drake*

benefited by a port of call. San Francisco Bay seems to have been *terra incognita* preserved to us by the inscrutable hand of providence.

Had the Russians seized so excellent a port; or had the Spanish, while still young, vigorous and enterprising so completely taken it over as they did Mexico; or still more to be feared, had Drake with his colony returned, and had the English made this a portion of their greater Empire, world history, as it is now written, would be vastly changed.

In time it may be shown that Drake reached none of the bays claimed for him, but, so far, the argument that he landed in a more northern harbor lacks confirmation. The many general arguments adduced, and all facts relating to this location, overwhelmingly point to the Bay region. This being true, it is merely a question of selection. Had the Spaniards found the inner port they so long sought, and had Vizcaino sailed in for a further exploration of the Bahia Grande, no question as to Drake's anchorage would have arisen. There is but one "good and faire" bay in the vicinity of 38°. Except for the purpose of argument first raised by the Spaniards who disliked to confess their inability to find so open a port, and those advanced by Dwinelle, and by Davidson after thirty years of indecision, this question would never have arisen. There is not the slightest proof that the Bay of San Francisco was entered by Drake. On the other hand nothing contained in either narrative in any way forbids such a conclusion, or justifies the assertions that have been made regarding its dangerous entrance. Except for the sketch map of Hondius, used by both Dwinelle and Davidson, every other argument that they have made falls of its own weight. As late as 1886 Hale named Davidson as an advocate of the Bay of San Francisco in a statement that he quoted from the "*Coast Pilot*."

Davidson adduced no further facts on which he based his change of opinion except those I have briefly but fully stated. Assertions without a basis of facts may be excellent special pleading but they are not proofs such as are necessary to establish a definite location. Dwinelle had still less founda-

tion for his statements as to the fancied resemblance between the map he argued and the Drake selection. He was not a nautical man; he had no "trained eye" for landfalls. He was a good lawyer but a poor scientist probably unfamiliar with either astronomy or geodesy and had no right to draw any conclusions based on nautical experience. For this reason Dwinelle confined himself to arguments of a general nature drawn from the map he adopted.

Stillman, less forensically endowed, even though a man of scientific training and a naturalist, received scant attention. Davidson did not attempt to refute the ground-squirrel argument; he busied himself with the study and interpretation of ancient maps, with the legendary lore of the Indians, and with an inductive analysis of Drake's psychological processes as interpreted by an equally skilled pilot.

For one hundred and fifty years following the Vizcaino failure properly to locate the inner port of San Francisco there was a continuing belief among the Spaniards that somewhere near Point Reyes an inner harbor, great in extent, one suited to the necessities of their Philippine galleons, could be found, and maps were drawn for the use of the commanders of these vessels that exhibit a large and fully protected bay directly under Point Reyes Head. Although these vessels, after reaching Cape Mendocino, kept out to sea, it must have happened that some of them ventured in under Point Reyes Head in search of this port and, in place of a deep indentation and a well defined bay, they found merely a small cove with a long beach extending twelve miles southward, ear shaped, ending in an imperceptible angle with the shore line.

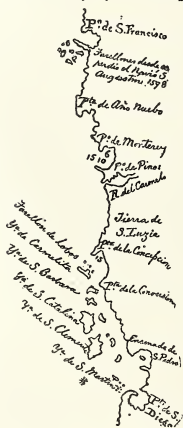
The Legend of the "Lost Port" must have arisen from the disappointment of those commanders who failed in their search for a suitable port in which they could rest and refit. There seemed to be sufficient evidence that such a port existed provided only that it could be located. It has been argued that Volanos who accompanied Cermeño on his voyage to the Puerto Francisco, in the time before they were shipwrecked, while waiting for the completion of the launch they were building for interior exploration,

*Spanish and  
French maps of  
the Bay of  
San Francisco*

must have found the great opening that formed the intake of the Puerto and that necessarily they possessed knowledge of this inner port; only by a series of misfortunes and unlucky incidents they were prevented from publicly giving out this knowledge; further that in the descriptions that became current and which Bueno adopted the nautical accounts of this port became associated with the name of Monterey, for during the next hundred years it was called the "Famous Port of Monterey." While Portola could find the cove-landings under Point Pinos, he could find nothing resembling the "famous" port he sought. All this is merely argumentative and it evidences the fact that until the discovery was made by land, no Spanish vessel had been able to penetrate this mile opening, so bound were they by coastal preconceptions.

One of the most interesting maps presented is a Mexican chart of unknown date, that places the "PORT DE S. FRANCISCO" north of Point Reyes. It is a fact that no exploration was made of which we have the details, after that of Vizcaino in 1603. Yet, in his "*Coast Pilot*," Cabrera Bueno describes this coast so inaccurately that he deceived those sent on the Portola expedition for founding a mission at Monterey. They could neither find the port of Monterey nor did they know that they were near the "Lost Port" of San Francisco, believing from Bueno's description that it lay north of Point Reyes Head.

It was a fixed belief among cartographers that the Port of San Francisco lay to the north of Point Reyes Head in that indentation now known as Bodega. This is evidenced by the Bueno description.





The Punta de los Reyes forms a steep cliff, and on its north side affords a good shelter from all winds, in lat.  $38^{\circ} 30'$ , and is called San Francisco. In a south or south-east wind the anchorage is at the end of the beach where it forms an angle on the north-west; while on the north-east are three white rocks very near the sea, and opposite the middle one an *estero* [Tomales?] makes in from the sea with a good entrance and no breakers. South south-west from this port [Bodega] are six or seven white farallones, some larger than others, occupying over a league in circuit. About 14 leagues south-east  $\frac{1}{4}$  south from Point Reyes, the land makes a point, before reaching which the land is of medium elevation [entrance to the Bay of San Francisco], bare along the shore, with some steep cliffs, though inland it is high and wooded, until a low point is reached in  $37^{\circ} 30'$ , called Pt. Ano Nuevo.

*Cabrera Bueno's  
Location of the  
P° de  
San Francisco*

*Bancroft's History of  
California,  
Vol. 1, page 228 note*

Bueno does not mention the cove under Point Reyes now known as Drake's Bay; evidently he located the port of San Francisco north of Point Reyes. So obscurely is the description worded, following the "middle" white cliff, that it is difficult to determine whether Bodega or Tomales is the "estero" described; but from the fact that white cliffs mark Bodega, it is probable that Tomales is the entrance designated. It was from this description that Portola believed that a long arm of the sea projected back into the Carquinez Straits and past the Berkeley shore ending at Alviso; Costanso, basing his opinion on this Bueno description, probably imagined that the arm of the bay which they could see extending indefinitely northward, confirmed this localization. They could not see and had no reason to believe that this opening lay just north of the hills that they were traversing.

By a peculiar method of reasoning, Davidson has so interpreted this description as to refer to the cove south of Point Reyes Head now called "Drake's Bay." Even though Bueno distinctly describes this safe port as "in the space to the north of this headland," and specifically names it San Francisco, thus carrying out the Spanish belief of this location being at Bodega, Davidson argues that Costanso referred to the cove to the south, and he further asserts that the estero from the sea "with a good entrance" describes the Limantour lagoon.





# THE ANSON MAP

Based on a Spanish Map of the Pacific Coast taken from a  
Manila Galleon

Dean Swift's  
map of  
Brobdignag

This, as well as other maps published by the Spaniards, illustrates the Bueno description.

A French map of the South Sea, in general circulation during the middle of the 18th Century, confirms the location and conformation of this "Havre de Drake."



I have found another map of this coast, more curious than authentic. It is an item properly included in our *Californiana*, although as far as I know, never before published or catalogued. It was used by Swift to localize *Brobdignag* and can be found in the original edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, published in 1726. Necessarily this map was of English derivation, otherwise it would not have contained "Nova Albion" as a country, or would it have designated "P° S. Francis Drake."

That Alaska was chosen as the land of the Giants may account for such magnified imaginings having their origin in this country of mystery and legend.

The possibilities of finding its hyperborean inhabitants and its other *lusus naturae* have been no more wonderful than the actualities of its auriferous tundra and its golden sands.



A FRENCH MAP OF 1760

*Showing the Bay of San Francisco as a deeply penetrating body of water*

*The Franciscans  
plan the  
establishment  
of Missions in  
Alta California*

Venegas  
*History of California*  
Vol. I, page 302.

The founding of Missions in the region north of 30° had been long urged as a necessary precaution against the Russians who were slowly making their way southward and against the equally dangerous English provided they ever succeeded in finding a northwest passage.

Venegas thus asserted the necessity for this northern occupation by the missionaries as the only method of curbing foreign occupation:

The last Spanish garrison on the northern American coasts of the South Sea, is that of Cape Lucas at the southern point of California, and to the southward of the tropic of Cancer: and even this is but weak and lately settled. But along the immense extent of the coast northward, Spain has not one single fortification. How shall we hinder the Russians from making settlements there, unless we be beforehand with them? Would it be proper that the Muscovites should become our neighbors and rivals, and establish the Greek church in California?

The repeated attempts of the English for finding a passage to the South-sea by the north of America and Hudson's Bay, are known to all the world. The last was undertaken in the spring of the year 1753. If they should one day succeed in this, why may not the English come down through their conquests, and even make themselves masters of the provinces of New Mexico, Moqui, the rivers Gila and Colorado, Pimeria, Papagos, and Apaches; and lastly of the northern part of California itself, which borders on our missions and garri- sons in the north of America. The publick papers have informed us that the English had a design of crossing the South-sea from the East Indies, erecting fortifications, and making settlements on the coast of America above California, towards Hudson Bay. Whoever is acquainted with the present disposition of the English nation, and has heard with what zeal and ardour the project for a northwest passage has been espoused by many considerable persons will be convinced that the scheme is not romantick. . . . I therefore beg leave to repeat that the conquest of the poor and barren province of California has been considered of the utmost importance to religion and the state; and more desirable than that of many happier countries in America.

This was the problem that the Franciscans felt must be solved by religious penetration and in this they were backed by the Spanish government. Especially was this true after the Jesuit discoveries in the northern region of New Spain had demonstrated that the approach to the Pacific Ocean from northern Mexico was unobstructed.

The Mission at San Diego was easily reached by the new overland route and a little later Galvez, the viceroy, determined to advance the line of missions as far north as Monterey. For this purpose he sent a trusted officer, Portola, accompanied by Junipero Serra, Crespi and other Franciscans, to establish a Presidio at Monterey, and to fortify it against foreign aggressors. They were ordered to found a mission there similar to those that had been opened in New Spain and on the Peninsula of California.

Brief reference must be made to this most interesting of all explorations inasmuch as it resulted in the discovery of the "Lost Port."

When Serra, who had been selected by Galvez to establish three of these missions, found that none had been assigned to the patron saint of his own order, St. Francis, he protested because of this omission. According to Palou in his "*Life of Junipero Serra*" this conversation occurred:

When the venerable Father, Fr. Junipero, had discussed with his Honor, the Inspector General, concerning the first three Missions he ordered to be founded in New California, on seeing the names and the patrons to whom they were assigned, he said to him, "Sir, is there to be no mission for our Father St. Francis?" To this the other replied, "*If St. Francis wants a Mission, let him cause his port to be discovered and a Mission for him shall be placed there.*"

*Galvez orders a search for the "Lost Port"*

Williams translation  
page 85

Other legends of this "Lost Port" were current, yet so wedded were the Spanish pilots to precedents, that they lost all initiative. Costanso, one of their best engineers and cartographers, failed to find the port of Monterey when he guided Portola on his northern expedition.

Because the ships that were sent to support the Portola land exploration failed to reach San Diego, Portola continued his journey to Monterey. Serra remained in San Diego, delegating Father Crespi to accompany him on his northern march. Serra awaited the ships in San Diego, hoping to come when they should sail for this port.

In addition to locating and establishing a fort and Mission at Monterey Galvez had required that, if possible, Portola should gain definite information as to the St. Francisco port near Point Reyes. It is understandable that Costanso and Portola, basing their opinion on the Bueno direc-

*Portola failing  
to find the Bay of  
Monterey  
discovers the  
Puerto Francisco*

tions for finding this port, were justified in not recognizing the inner port even when they stood on its shore, so convinced were they that St. Francisco lay north of Point Reyes, where Bodega is located.

Portola was accompanied by Fages and by Father Crespi in whose charge the new mission at Monterey was to be placed. They reached the specified location, recognized Point Pinos but could not find the harbor of Monterey, being misled by the over-descriptions contained in Cabrera Bueno's Coast Pilot. Monterey had been described as an excellent port fully protected from storms and a safe harbor in which to anchor "sheltered from all winds." For this reason it was selected as a desirable harbor to hold the coast against the encroaching Russians. When Portola failed to find this bay he pressed farther north believing it probable that in some way they had misunderstood its location. For this reason they pushed to the north and emerged in the Santa Clara valley near the present site of San Jose. From this point they travelled north until they reached a marshy, tule-bordered estero. From this point they turned west for the purpose of penetrating the mountains and reaching the ocean, feared that they had passed Monterey by this inland detour.

Students of the track they followed differ as to the canyon through which they passed in their upward climb, also as to the mountain-top from which they obtained their first view of the ocean for the purpose of reconnaissance. It is generally assumed that it was on the heights above Point Pedro. They recognized the Farallones, Point Reyes Head, and other landmarks that identified the Puerto Francisco.

Portola, in his report, thus describes these identifying marks:

Teggart  
Translation

The 3<sup>rd</sup> we travelled for two hours on a very bad road up a very high mountain. We halted on the summit . . . and the sergeant with eight soldiers was sent to explore.

Having seen some small islands, a point of land, and a bay we decided that we were in the neighborhood of the Port of San Francisco as described by the account of Cabrera Bueno.

Costanso, in his report, is equally indefinite as to the mountain-height from which they observed the Gulf of the Farallones.



The last day of October, the land-expedition sighted the Punta de los Reyes and the Farallones of the Port of San Francisco, which landmarks, when compared with the sailing directions of the pilot, Cabrera Bueno, were found to be correct. It then came to be recognized as obvious that the Port of Monterey had been left behind, and there were few who adhered to the contrary opinion.

Fortunately for exactitude concerning this mountain height reached by Portola and Costanso, as well as for the deductions they mentally formulated on reaching this spot, unrecorded in their diaries, Davidson has been able to inform us definitely. This he has done by basing his conclusion partly on a contour map of the United States Survey when studied in connection with the explorers' reports, partly by his familiarity with the ground over which they travelled, but mainly by solving the "three point problem" together with certain deductions derived from compass bearings and magnetic variations—something not referred to in any published diary that deals with this exploration.

In order to locate Portola's daily positions from Point Año Nuevo, in latitude  $37^{\circ}06\frac{1}{2}'$ , to the camp of the 30th of October, one mile and a quarter north of Point Montara in latitude  $37^{\circ}33'$ , we appeal to the contoured maps of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. These are on a good scale, so that we are able to plot closely the line of travel of the expedition, and to measure the distance.

The contour map was open to all, yet no two students agreed as to the exact route followed by the Portola party. All agree that the "estero" or lagoon at which they arrived was near the present town of Santa Clara; beyond this each selected his favorite canyon, several of which from this point penetrate the coast range that separates Santa Clara Valley from the ocean. Davidson by his contour map, similar to the one he used in locating Drake's position when camped on Drake's Bay, has followed the Portola explorers step by step, pointing out their route and camp sites, as detailed in "*The Discovery of San Francisco Bay*" published by the Geographical Society of the Pacific.

Their last camp before reaching the summit from which they surveyed the Puerto Francisco has been accurately fixed by Davidson.

*Davidson  
appeals to the  
U. S. Contour  
map to locate  
the Portola track*

*Discovery of  
San Francisco Bay  
page 36*

*The Three Point  
Problem is  
solved by  
Davidson*

The geographic position of this camp of the 30th, has always been in some doubt, but, with the different narratives before us, a personal acquaintance of the locality and the contoured maps of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, we have satisfactorily solved the problem. It was one mile and a quarter northward of the present Montara Fog Signal Station, and two miles southward of the northern extremity of Point San Pedro.

With equal perspicacity Davidson follows them on their climb to the mountain top on the following day and he details the reasons that induced Portola and Constanso to realize that they had passed the site of Monterey Bay, their original destination.

*Discovery &c.  
page 43*

Upon consulting the Coast Pilot of Don Joseph Gonzales Cabrero Bueno of 1734, they decided they were looking on the old Puerto de San Francisco of the Spanish Galleons, the Portus Novae Albionis ascribed to Drake. . . . One of the bearings to the white cliffs near the estero where no estero existed seemed to be erroneous; but we have fixed the "barrancas blancas" as the southern face of the white cliffs of Ballenas. . . . With that point fixed and the Head of Point Reyes, distant thirty-four nautical miles and the Farallones distant twenty-five nautical miles, all plotted, we have determined the observation point of Constanso by the three point problem: and, furthermore, it is shown that he applied the magnetic variation to reduce his compass bearings to the true bearings.

Only a navigator or astronomer can properly follow and appreciate the deductions drawn by Davidson in his reference to the magnetic variations by which Costanso reduced his compass bearings into true bearings, are as to the effect upon his mental concepts when he attempted to apply these to the Gulf of the Farallones. In addition, it requires a mathematician to understand the relation that the "three point problem" bore to Portola's conclusion that he was overlooking the Puerto Francisco. Possibly it was Davidson's familiarity with geodesy that enabled him to detect some unexpressed thought contained in the Costanso brain regarding the third headland that Costanso had under consideration and which Bueno designated as "three white rocks" that marked the entrance to the port of San Francisco.

These deductions are necessarily the result of Davidson's own cogitations for in the Costanso and Portola reports, published by the "Academy of Pacific Coast History,"

there is no reference to magnetic variations or to the three point problem or to any conclusion they reached by such observations. All that is related is that they ascended a mountain overlooking the ocean and that from this point of observation they saw some islands, a point of land, and a bay, from which they judged that they were overlooking the Bay of San Francisco.

For solidity a stool requires three legs of equal length; should the third leg be a theoretical one of psychological construction it may fail when the burden of proof is placed upon it. This third point was neither named nor suggested by Costanso and as it was deduced by Davidson it related to nothing contained in either report. Possibly by "white cliffs" Davidson refers to are the three white rocks described by Bueno in his description of Bodega. Such a description could not have referred to the "Barrancas blancas" near Bolinas Bay.

Because of ignorance of the sciences named by Davidson, the uninformed student who searches out the track followed comes to the conclusion that Portola climbed to some mountain-height, most probably Point Pedro mountain and, from this, observed the headland, islands, and bay mentioned by Portola; but they can offer no proof, such as Davidson adduced, that the site of the camp was "one mile and a quarter northward of the present Montara Fog Signal Station, and two miles southward of the northern extremity of Point San Pedro."

To have winning value a flush must consist of five cards of the same denomination. If only four are held they are valueless and can only win when backed by sufficient nerve. In like manner the four sciences when thoroughly mastered by Davidson, required a fifth for unification, consolidation and proper application. This study, unpracticed if known to Davidson, was Logic. In none of his writings that formulate his ideas with reference to this Coast is there indication of his mastery of this fifth science.

From this point Portola turned back and followed some ridge leading down to the bay, camping probably near Palo Alto. He thus describes what he saw:

*Davidson lacks  
the Science of  
Logic*

*Portola sees the  
southern end  
of the Bay of  
San Francisco*

[The following day] we travelled for four hours part of the way through a bad road, the remainder through a level canyon. Before us extended a great arm of the sea, sixteen to twenty leagues in extent. We travelled, skirting this shore of this arm of the sea, or port, and halted in a level place, thickly grown with oak trees, having many lagoons and swamps, and surrounded by many villages from which there came out one hundred and twenty natives.

Captain Fernando de Rivera commanded the sergeant and eight soldiers to go out and explore. All the time they were gone they skirted the shore of this arm of the sea or port; they returned after four days and reported that they had found nothing, leaving us to doubt as to whether we could find anything farther on. For this reason, seeing that we were in too high a latitude and without any indication of the port of Monterey as given by Cabrera Bueno, we halted and the council decided that the expedition should return, and that the port of Monterey] should be sought with greater care.

The various diaries are not explicit as to the location of this camp: for exact information it is necessary to follow the deductions of Professor Davidson based on his "con-tour map."

*Discovery, &c.*  
page 50

Upon reaching the crest-line of the hills that trend south-east and north-west, they descended and entered the cañada of San Andrés the head of which is five hundred and twenty feet above the sea. That they travelled south-southeast through this narrow cañada between high hills that were wooded (see Coast Survey map) for about one mile, and halted at sunset . . . This would bring them to the small unnamed lagoon shown on the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey map of the Peninsula of San Francisco exactly two miles west by south of Millbrae station. . . . The camping ground is now covered by the waters of the reservoir of San Andrés Lake.

There is a legendary account that certain hunters attached to the Portola expedition found and reported the ocean connection of this bay. If so it is not mentioned in either the Portola or Constanso diaries. The only reference to any information gained from natives is contained in the Constanso diary:

Teggart Translation

Nevertheless, the commander decided to have the country reconnoitered as far as the Punta de los Reyes. The explorers who were sent out for this purpose found their progress obstructed by immense estuaries [they were attempting to go around the southern end of the bay] which penetrate the land to a very great distance, and to pass around which great detours were necessary. They spent three days on the exploration, and on their return said that the signs made to them by the Indians, there was no doubt in their minds that the port was very

near and they felt very certain that one of the packets had reached its destination. Little importance was attached to this information obtained by the doubtful means of signs made by the hands and the head which on such occasions take the place of the tongue. Nevertheless, that they might not turn back with this uncertainty, they decided to go forward and assure themselves of the facts. They reached the end of the first estuary, and the country having been reconnoitered over which they would have to pass to come to the Punta de los Reyes, it was found broken up by estuaries and lacking in pasture and firewood.

A camp close to the bay shore is the more probable position inasmuch as it was located near Indian rancherías. Doyle placed it upon Francisquita creek east of Palo Alto. According to the 1770 Fages report these explorers turned back near Alviso.

The legend of these hunters has been so frequently told that it has now become a stock story of the Portola survey.

Apparently Costanso was not impressed by these reports; neither he nor Portola thought them of sufficient importance to deserve a personal investigation.

Father Crespi later formulated his findings and fairly well described the conditions actually existing, placing the opening of his "Famous Bay" under Point Reyes, as graphically delineated in his map of 1773.

They say that this *Estero* is surrounded on all sides by high mountains throughout its entire extent, so that it is like a lake, protected from all winds. And considering that this most famous *Estero* and exceedingly great port of San Francisco, is that there are two ports, both most famous and exceedingly large, one exterior where begin the six or seven farallones, as says Cabrera, and the other one better protected against all winds, penetrating into this said *Estero*, or arm of the sea. And consequently if in time ships do not discover the Bay of Monterey, which I totally doubt, as we have examined it with our eyes wide open, and with so much care, as our most earnest wish was centered in it, in default of it we have this most famous one of San Francisco, wherein to plant the standard of the most Holy Cross.

"They," in this statement, must refer to his Indian guides. Evidently Ortega's knowledge regarding this bay was derived from the Indians, not from personal observations. It was this testimony to which Costanso referred when discussing the sign language of the Indians.

*Palo Alto the  
northern limit of  
the Portola  
Exploration*

*Discovery, &c.  
page 86*

*Portola did not  
know that he had  
found the  
Lost Port*

Davidson questions the fact that any of the Portola party realized that the Estero they saw was directly connected with the ocean by an open mouth into the bay.

Furthermore, we have presumptive evidence that they must have doubted the existence of a direct communication between the primero estero and the ocean such as the Golden Gate. They had learned the existence of the ocean tide at San Diego, and along the coast yet while they were on the shore of San Francisco Bay we have not a word from Portola, Rivera, Costanso, Father Crespi and Ortega, that any tide was observed. In their four days' stay such an observed phenomenon would have excited them and called for farther exploration. Summing up the evidence, our judgment is adverse to the claim of Costanso.

Evidently the sergeant, Ortega, must have believed that such an opening existed. In a report he made to Father Palou he gives the result of his march of exploration and he details his findings:

*Identifications, &c.  
page 75*

When examined from the Port of San Francisco the farallones are seven in number, according to the view from that distance. The expedition desired to reach the Punta de los Reyes, but because of some *esteros* which stretched inland for an extraordinary distance and necessitated the making of an extremely great detour and other difficulties . . . we were compelled to retreat, believing that the Port of Monterey might probably be found in the Sierra Santa Lucia, and fearing that it had been passed without having been seen.

The expedition finally returned from the famous port which I, with eight soldiers who went out to explore, saw and I accurately estimate that it extended inland more than eight leagues; and that an arm of the sea entered, two, three, or four leagues wide and within is an excellent shelter between two mountain ranges so that it is, as it were, a box closed with many keys, which proves to me that my Master has no other equal to it, provided its depth is correspondingly great.

Davidson discredits the probability that any member of the Portola expedition saw the Golden Gate or approached the adjacent shore line.

*Ibid, page 100*

The conclusion we have reached is this: That when Governor Portola's first expedition arrived at the northern limit at San Pedro cove, the Golden Gate was not seen by any person of the expedition; nor did the scouts even report the existence of the Laguna Merced, two miles long, lying in the oblique transverse valley between the ocean and the bay shore south of San Bruno mountain and the mountain mass culminating in the Twin Peaks. After seeing the southeastern

part of the Bay of San Francisco and its undefined extension to the northward, Costanso may have suspected some other entrance through the break in the mountains but his diary dated February 7, 1770, does not mention such suspicion.

Davidson asserted that neither the hunters nor soldiers belonging to the Portola exploration could have seen the bay entrance.

As neither the exploring nor the hunting party had a glimpse of the Golden Gate, but were two days' travel therefrom; and as to Costanso and to the commander Portola, and to all the party, the outer coast line seemed high, compact, and unbroken to the northward beyond their encampment, it was decided to cross the hills directly overlooking the bay and explore around the south and southeastern shore of this immense sea.

Today this decision appears to many people to have been unfortunate when one or two more days of easy travel—only thirteen miles northward—would have brought them to the Golden Gate, and have given them a more wonderful discovery to call forth exuberant description; but they were guided by what they actually saw.

A better description of this second failure to find the port of Monterey is contained in Father Crespi's dairy:

The expedition arrived at the Sierra de Santa Lucia on the thirteenth of September. . . . On the same day we caught sight of Point Pinos, and the harbors on its north and south sides without discovering any indications or landmarks of the Bay of Monterey. Determined to push on further in search of it, on the 30 of October we got sight of Point Reyes and the Farallones at the Bay of San Francisco, which are seven in number. The expedition strove to reach Point Reyes, but was hindered by an immense arm of the sea, which, extending to a great distance inland, compelled them to make an enormous circuit, for that purpose. In consequence of this and other difficulties, the greatest of all being the absolute want of food, the expedition was compelled to turn back, believing that they must have passed the harbor of Monterey without discovering it. . . .

From that date to the present ninth of December, we have used every effort to find the Bay of Monterey, searching the coast notwithstanding its ruggedness, far and wide; but in vain. At last undeceived, and despairing of finding it after so many efforts, sufferings and labors, we leave this place today for San Diego.

It seems there was no suspicion in the mind of Portola that he had found the "Lost Port" for which he was ordered to search, still convinced, as were all Spaniards of that day, that it lay under Point Reyes Head; nor on his return

*No member of the  
Portola  
Expedition saw  
the Golden  
Gate*

*Discovery of  
San Francisco Bay  
page 49*

*Ibid, page 72*

*The Portola  
explorers feed on  
the flesh of  
male and female  
mules*

to Mexico did he report to Galvez the fact that he had found the Port of San Francisco.

John T. Doyle reports the finding of a letter now in the Spanish Archives of the State of California.

"It is an original letter from the Marquis de Croix to Don Pedro Fargó dated Mexico, November 12, 1770, wherein, after acknowledging the receipt of several letters down to a then recent date, and stating that Don Gaspar de Portola, ex-governor, and Don Miguel Constanzo, both of whom had accomplished the first expedition by land, had returned to Mexico and had recounted to him, personally, the various occurrences. . . . He goes on to complain of the want of any news of finding the Bay of San Francisco, which he describes in 38° 30' latitude."

It is a noticeable fact that Cabrera Bueno places the port of San Francisco on the north side of Point Reyes, probably Bodega, as the one "free from all winds."

Doyle further states that Father Palou believed that the "P<sup>o</sup> de S. Francisco" was so located:

*Proc. Amer. Ant. Soc.*  
page 111, et seq

Father Palou himself made the suggestion that the Bay of San Francisco could only be reached from this side by sea, and that therefore they had better establish a mission here, at the extremity of the Peninsula [San Pedro], and get up a boat with which to approach it.

It would seem that it is Fages who should be selected to lead our civic parade on his prancing horse, not Portola who slunk away on the back of a mule that he was later compelled to slaughter for food during the southward march of his starving band.

Serra in his report to Palou quaintly announced:

*Discovery, &c.*  
page 70

Those who departed from this place, San Diego . . . for Monterey have returned this 24th of January of this present year [1770] with the merit of having been compelled to eat the flesh of male and female mules; and with not having found the Port of Monterey, which we judged to have been filled by the great sand dunes which we found in the place where we had expected to find the port.

The authorities overseeing this exploration did not agree with Serra that this Port of Monterey had been filled by sand. Portola, after his fruitless search for the Monterey harbor, was sent back to again search for this port. Better instructed as to location, early in 1770, they reached the bay of Monterey and found no difficulty in recognizing the description of Cabrera Bueno. Quoting from Palou's "*Noticias*:"



Walking a short distance along the playa they reflected that the ensenada was inclosed by the two points mentioned, and that the ensenada appeared as a round lagoon shaped like the letter O, and weighing these conditions they broke forth with one voice, "This is the port of Monterey."

*Portola  
re-discovers the  
Bay of Monterey*

Portola, dispirited and without the curiosity to follow to its source the large sheet of water he saw, has been given undue praise as the discoverer of the Bay of San Francisco. Rightfully it should be given to Fages who had been placed in charge of the Monterey Presidio. It was he who, in 1770, before he received the de Croix letter requiring further exploration had, of his own volition, discovered and described this new bay; the first European on record to view the Golden Gate and to explain the relation that existed between this inland sea and the ocean, which he saw from the Berkeley hills.

Early in the summer of 1770 he started on this exploration accompanied by "six soldiers and one muleteer." His diary describes his route and his discoveries.

Going northeast, and after two days travel we struck the valley of the port of San Francisco. Following this for five days we succeeded in going about seven leagues beyond where the explorers of the expedition of the previous year were [the sergeant and the eight soldiers]. From the top of a hill at this place there was seen a large estuary mouth, which as it appeared to me and the soldiers, was about three hundred yards wide and reached about the same distance inland, and another a little narrower. Through these mouths ran a great stream of water from the sea, forming two large estuaries. The one we had to our left must have turned south about 15 leagues. Of the course of the other to the east we saw about twenty leagues. From all this we inferred that it was the estuary of the Port of San Francisco of which the itenary of Cabrera Bueno speaks.

Bolton translation

Professor H. E. Bolton found the 1770 Fages report in the Archives of Mexico and published it in 1911 as a contribution to the "Academy of Pacific Coast History." Beyond question Fages was the first to explore and report the finding of the "Lost Port," and he deserves the credit of its discovery.

Two years after the Fages discovery of the Golden Gate with its two openings—probably an optical illusion caused by Alcatraz which centers the Gate from Berkeley—Crespi

*The 1772 Crespi  
map of the Bay  
of San Francisco*

visited this bay and explored certain of its tributaries. Also he drew a map, dated 1772, which is fairly diagrammatic of the bay with its entering river. However, with true Spanish acumen and persistence, he again drew the Bay as having its exit under Point Reyes Head. By the courtesy of H. R. Wagner, who found it in Mexico, I reproduce this map as a frontispiece. Its legend reads:

Map of the Famous Port and River of San Francisco and the interior country surveyed by an exploring party sent out in March 1772, drawn from the diary and field notes of Father Crespi of the Franciscan Society in charge of the new mission of Monterey. The running streams, the woods and the rancherias of the Indians are omitted, owing to the necessities of a sketch-map. The strait widens into a large bay and a large river empties into it.

Around this bay the natives were found to be fair haired, bearded and light complexioned. They were very good and friendly and they made gifts of fruit and food to the Spaniards.

This, the earliest map of the bay region, is not accurate. The Farallones are placed within the closing jaws of the outer port, the boundaries of which are Point Reyes on the north and, on the south, Punta de Almejas, so named by Crespi because of the abundance of shell fish found on the rocks of Pedro Point.

The Islands scattered in a row is evidence proving that Crespi was not careful to plot those that he saw. Probably the high mountain figured which marked their farthest exploration (SIERRA Y TERMINALE DE LA EXPEDITION) was intended to designate Mount Diablo from the top of which they could have obtained a view justifying the mountains and branching rivers drawn.

The bearded, reddish-haired and fair-skinned (barbados, rubios y blancos) Indians that they found on this bay shore would be an excellent argument for those putting faith in Indian legends of the White Gods who visited them, had these been found in the bay under Point Reyes, even though two hundred years and many Spanish sailors had intervened.

At the time Davidson and other authorities discussed the subject of the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco this exploratory 1770 trip of Fages was not known.

For this reason he assigned the actual discovery of the bay and its ocean connection to Crespi and Fages in 1772.

The first party of exploration to penetrate and to stand on the shore of the Golden Gate was that led by Captain de Rivera who, in the year 1774, followed the westward shore-line of the Bay of San Francisco, proceeding down the Santa Clara Valley until they reached the San Bruno Hills, over which they climbed, and according to Davidson, emerged near Lake Merced. For the particulars of this march and final discovery of the Golden Gate I quote the narrative of Davidson, the Pathfinder, who has followed their trail most intelligently, and who has left to us a readable account of the details of their exploration.

*Rivera the first Spaniard to overlook the Golden Gate*

On Sunday, the 23rd of November, 1774, the Commandante Captain de Rivera with an escort of sixteen soldiers, . . . accompanied by one servant, and a pack train . . . accompanied by Father Francisco Palou . . . started from the mission of San Carlos. . . . On Sunday, the 4th, they followed the plains northwardly, skirting the southwest flank of San Bruno Mountain, and, because the ground was soft from the rain, they kept on the high ground around the east and northeast shore of the Laguna de la Merced, heading the deep line of drainage; thence diagonally northwesterly over the great sand dunes, and came upon the ocean beach about half a mile below Point Lobos. At high noon Captain Rivera, with Father Palou and four soldiers, climbed to the top, of Point Lobos which then rose three hundred and eighty-one feet above the sea. This bold headland overlooks the coast hence to Point San Pedro to the south, the Gulf of the Farallones, the Southeast Farallon, the Northwest Farallones, the White Cliffs in Drake's Bay, the "barrancas blancas" of Ballenas Point, and the Punta de los Reyes, behind whose eastern promontory lies the "Puerto de San Francisco" which they had hoped to reach in 1769 and 1772. On the outer and rocky summit of this headland 'which up to this time had never received the footprint of Spaniard or any Christian,' they fixed the standard of the Holy Cross, supported by two rocks standing upright *in situ*.

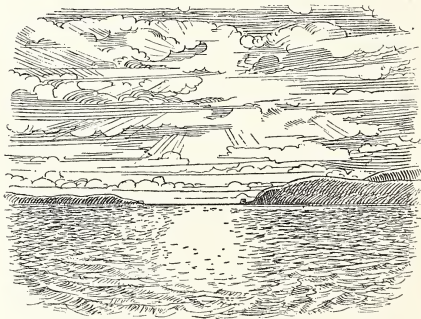
*Discovery &c.  
page 107*

To a greater Pathfinder, General John C. Fremont, is due the conception, the origin, and the name "Golden Gate."

As Fremont stood on the shore of this greatest of Bays, he was reminded of a name that marked the narrow strait leading into Constantinople, by the Byzantines called "*Chrysoceras*." In memory of this he suggested, in his report to Congress, that this entrance to the Western World

*The City by the  
Golden Gate*

should bear the title "Chrisopylae," distinctive of the wealth that he forecast for this great Spanish Province: a Naboth's Vineyard that excited his cupidity and for which he was willing to barter his profession and his good name. His suggestion, the "Gates of Gold," proved an inspiration: a term fittingly applied to the sea-entrance of our Golden State, typical alike of its climate, its products and its people. As the Golden Horn marked the end of the old civilization in the East, so the Golden Gate has opened a new western world: a country unrivalled for its wealth, its material achievements, its progress: and for the development of the newer ideals in a Queen City that has arisen purified from its own ashes; glorified, ennobled and holding a commonwealth unsurpassed for its acts of charity, its public foresightedness and its deeds of accomplishment.



*Serene, indifferent to Fate  
Thou sittest at the Western Gate;  
Upon the height, so lately won,  
Still slant the banners of the sun;  
Thou seest the white seas strike their tents,  
O Warder of two Continents!*

# Appendix

HAKLUYT'S ACCOUNT OF DRAKE'S VOYAGE FROM GUATULCO TO THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA, HIS LANDING IN A GOOD BAY NEAR  $38^{\circ}$ , HIS EXPLORATION OF THE INTERIOR, TOGETHER WITH HIS ANNEXATION OF THIS COUNTRY. THIS NARRATIVE IS A REPRINT OF THE SIX LEAVES SURREPTITIOUSLY INSERTED IN THE 1589 HAKLUYT. ITS AUTHOR IS UNKNOWN ; ALTHOUGH ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCIS PRETTY, WHO WROTE OF THE CAVENDISH EXPEDITION, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT SUPPORTS THIS SUGGESTION.

ALSO, A NARRATIVE EXTRACTED FROM THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED WHICH COVERS THIS SAME PERIOD OF DRAKE'S VOYAGE; TO WHICH IS ADDED EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST AND SECOND DECLARATIONS OF JOHN DRAKE GIVEN BEFORE VERA Y ARAGON OF SANTA FE, AND THE INQUISITION AT LIMA.



The Course which Sir *Francis Drake*  
held from the haven of *Guatulco* in the  
South Sea on the backe side of *Nueva*  
*Espanna*, to the Northwest of  
*California*.



WE kept our course from the Isle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the coast of *Nueva Espana*, untill we came to the Haven and Towne of *Guatulco* which (as we were informed) had but seventeene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fiftene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Assooneas we were entred this Haven we landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, where we found a Judge sitting in judgment, he being associated with three other officers, upon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the towne, to command all the Townesmen to avoid, and that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransacked the Towne, and in one house a pot of the quantitie of a bushell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and searching him he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other jewels which he tooke and so let him goe.

At this place our Generall, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilote, which tooke at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and hauing set them a shoore, we departed thence.

The Portugall  
Pilote fet on  
land

*The Hakluyt  
Narrative*

Our Generall at this place and time thinking himselfe both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his return would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coastes, but began to consider and to consule of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes the one; least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights of the South side with continuall stormes raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolved therefore to auoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Malucos and there thence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of Mona Speranca.

Upon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for the Malucas and finding himselfe, where hee now was, betalmed, hee saw that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16 of Aprill after our old style till the third of June.

Sir Francis  
Drake sayled  
on the backe  
side of America.  
to 43 degrees  
of Northerly  
latitude.  
38 degrees.

The fifth day of June being in fortie three degrees towards the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon us, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, & we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this Bay wee ankered the seuenteenth of June, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houses close to the waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.



When they came unto us, they greatly wondred at the things which wee brought but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presentes which they sent unto our Generall were feathers and calcs of net worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the uttermost brimmes of the circle cliffs of wood set upon them, loynning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warme.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lpyng about the house they haue the fire in the midst. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes and kembe them after the maner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire upon it. These women are uery obedient and seruicable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and uisited us the second time and brought with them feathers and bags of tabacco for presents: And when they came to the toppe of the hill (at the bottom whereof wee had pitched our tents) they staped themselves, where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes upon the hill and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie went to prayer, and to reading the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiu and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us they restored againe unto us those things which before we had bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the king himself, a man of goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their king

A description  
of the people  
and Countrey  
of *Noua Albion*.

*The Hakluyt  
Narrative*

These are like  
chainns of  
Esurnoy in *Cana-*  
*da* and *Hoch-*  
*lage*.

was coming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his coming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely Maiestie, the people crying continually after their maner, and as they drew neere unto us, so did they strue to behaue themselves in their actions with comeliness.

In the forefront was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a merueilous length: the crownes were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bony substance and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelue, &c. Next unto him which bare the scepter, was the king himselfe, with his Guarde about his person, clad with Conie skinnnes and other skinnnes: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours and hauing in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meantime, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the king by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and lofty voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were given, the king with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came down without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselves in order.

In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song obseruing his measures in a dance, and that with stately countenance, whom the king with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in the maner sing and dance, sauing onely the women which daunced and kept silence. The Generall per-

mitted them to enter within our bulwark where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king, and diuers others made seuerall orations or rather supplication, that he would take their prouince and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which to perswade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name *Hioh*, adding thereunto as it seemed a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought it not meete to reiect, because hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne and dignitie of the said countrey in his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might be so conueniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of the people leauing the king and his Guard with our Generall, scattered themselves with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they enclosing them about offered their sacrifices to them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing of flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But we used sign to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwardes to the liuing God whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices unto us, untill they understoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them; yet they could not long be absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that being absent wee would remember them, and by stelfh provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

*The Hakluyt  
Narrative*

The king re-  
signes his  
crowne and  
kingdome to  
Sir Francis  
Drake.  
Great riches  
in *Noua Albion*.

*The Hakluyt  
Narrative*Abundance of  
strange conies*Nova Albion*Golde and fil-  
ver in the  
earth of *Nova  
Albion*.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie traueiled up into the Countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of Deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large and fat of body.


We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kind of Conies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbary Conies, their heades as the heades of ours, the feet of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: under her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skinnnes, for their Kings coat was made of them.

Our Generall called this countrey *Nova Albion*, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towarde the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with out Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or siluer.

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing up of the Prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highness picture and armes, in a peice of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, where under was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the countrey, neither had euer discovered the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.



# NARRATIVE

From THE WORLD

Encompaffed



FROM *Guatulco* we departed the day following, viz., *Aprill* 16, [1579] setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and *June* 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did gricuously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not only the markes, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of vs all; for besides that the pinching and biting aire was nothing altered, the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an vnnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone then any way so neere vnto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time onely, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemes indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun preuailes not; for it came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. farther to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst vs, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keepe themselves within their couerts from the pinching cold that did benumme them. Neither could we impute it to the tendernesse of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremite of heate, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold: insomuch as the dead and sencelesse creatures were as well affected with it as ourselues; our meate, as soone as it was remoued from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen vp, and our ropes and tackling in few dayes were growne to that stiffnessse,

Narrative from  
"The World  
Encompassed"

that what 3 men afore were able with them to performe, now 6 men, with their best strength and vttermost endeaour, were hardly able to accomplish: whereby a sudden and great discouragement seased vpon the mindes of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our General be discouraged, but as wel by comfortable speeches, of the diuine prouidence, and of God's louing care ouer his children, out of the Scriptures, as also by other good and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull example, he so stirred them vp to put on a good courage, and to quite themselves like men, to indure some short extremity to haue the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtaine the greater glory, that eury man was thoroughly armed with willingnesse and resolued to see the vttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West then we before imagined, we were neerer on it than wee were aware; and yet the neerer still wee came vnto it, the more extremity of cold did sease vpon vs. The 5 day of *June*, wee were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade we could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate vpon vs, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately vpon their intermission there followed most uile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea preuailed nothing, till the gusts of wind againe remoued them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for vs; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now vtterly discouraged our men) would not permit vs; and the winds directly bent against vs, hauing once gotten vs vnder sayle againe, commanded vs to the Southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48 deg., in which now we were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; euery hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in *June*, and the sunne in his neereest approach vnto them, being couered with snow.

In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a conuenient and fit harborough, and *June* 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23 day of *July* following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so neere the sunne, yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodics, and busie employment about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compeld us to the contrary, we could very well haue been contented to haue kept about us still our winter clothes; yea (had our necessities suffered vs) to haue kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourtene

dayes together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height sugar by the fire.

And here, hauing so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seeme to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreame cold in these parts, as also into the probabilities or vnlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernesse of our bodies, comming so lately out of the heate, whereby the poores were opened, that made vs so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a prouident Father and carefull Physitian for vs. We lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in vs; neither was there wanting to vs the great experience of our Generall, who had often himselfe proued the force of the burning Zone, whose aduice alwayes preuailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that euen after our departure from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies, not as sponges, but strong and hardened, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of excesse of heate, then a number of chamber champions could haue beene, who lye on their feather beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold itselfe that caused this sensiblenes in vs, may the rather appeare, in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had neuer beene acquainted with such heate, to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper, and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature; yet vsed to come shiuering to vs in their warme furies, crowding close together, body to body, to receiue heate one of another, and sheltring themselves vnder a lee bancke, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroude themselves vnder our garments also to keepe them warme. Besides, how vnhand-some and deformed appeared the face of the earth it selfe! shewing trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes in those monthes of *June* and *July*. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to obserue it), not daring so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egge layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe itselfe. Onely this recompence hath nature afforded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many places.

As for the causes of this extremity, they seeme not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chiefest of which we conceiue to be the large spreading of the Asian and

*Narrative from  
"The World  
Encompassed"*

*Narrative from  
"The World  
Encompassed"*

American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully ioyned, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-couered mountaines, the North and North-west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no, not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they haue breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the North wind alone is in *August* and *September*, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof, by the continued obseruations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the cuntry; hence comes it, that in the midst of their summer, the snow hardly departeth euen from their very doores, but is neuer taken away from their hills at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne struiing to performe his naturall office, in eleuating the vapors out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the sunnes inducitur, forces him to giue ouer his worke imperfect; and instead of higher eleuation, to leaue in the lowest region, wandering vpon the face of the earth and waters as it were a second sea, through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, vnlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly bene at Wardhouse, in 72. deg. of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of *June* and *July*.

And also from these reasons we coniecture, that either there is no passage at all through these Northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that yet it is vnnauigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, euen vnto the 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and euen in that height, when we had a franke winde to haue carried vs through, had there bene a passage, yet we had a smoothe and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not haue bene had there bene a fret; of which we rather infallibly concluded, then coniectured, that there was none. But to returne.

The next day, after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the cuntry shewed themselves, sending off a



*Narrative from  
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man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof many gestures and signes, mouing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reuerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called *Tabab*. Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he cast into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recompenced him immediatly with many good things he would haue bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliuer the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any meanes, saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vtterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondring at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The 3 day following, uiz., the 21, our ship hauing receiued a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to preuent any danger that might chance against our safety, our Generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary prouision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selues and goods: and that wee might vnder the shelter of it with more safety (what euer should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the countrey perceiued vs doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their countrie, in great hast and companics, with such weapons as they had, they came downe vnto vs, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt vs: standing, when they drew neere, as men rauished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they neuer had scene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship vs as Gods, then to haue any warre with vs as with mortall men. Which thing, as it did partly shew itselfe at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signes to lay from them their bowes and arrowes, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies vnto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women.

*Narrative from  
"The World  
Encompassed"*

To the intent, therefore, that this peace which they themselves so willingly sought might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that wee might with more safety and expedition end our businesses in quiet, our Generall, with all his company, vsed all meanes possible gently to intreate them, bestowing vpon each of them liberally good and necessary things to couer their nakednesse; withall signifying vnto them we were no Gods, but men, and had neede of such things to couer our owne shame; teaching them to vse them to the same ends, for which cause also wee did eate and drinke in their presence, giuing them to vnderstand that without that wee could not liue, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remoue that opinion which they had conceiued of vs, that wee should be Gods.

In recompence of those things which they had receiued of vs, as shirts, linnen cloth, etc., they bestowed vpon our Generall, and diuerse of our company, diuerse things, as feathers, cawles of networke, the quiuers of their arrowes, made of fawne skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore vpon their bodies. Hauing thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of vs, they departed with ioy to their houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and haue from the vppermost brimmes of the circle clefts of wood set vp, and ioyned close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a Church; which being couered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme; the doore in the most part of them performes the office also of a chimney to let out the smoake: its made in bignes and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, onely with rushes strewed vpon it, and lying round about the house, haue their fire in the midst, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, giueth a maruelous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

Their men for the most part goe naked; the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kembing it after the manner of hemp, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hanges downe about their hippes, and so affordes to them a couering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire vpon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all seruices; yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consents or being called of the men.

As soone as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left vs (being neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainly, with wonder and admiration, did heare the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and dolefull manner of shrieking.

*Narrative from  
"The World  
Encompassed"*

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awfull demeanour vsed towards vs, we thought it no wisdom too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with vs before, made vs carefull to provide against an alteration of their affections or breach of peace if it should happen), and therefore with all expedition we set vp our tents, and intrenched ourselues with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselues, we might be able to keepe off the enimie (if they should so proue) from comming amongst us without our good wills: this being quickly finished, we went the more cheerefully and securely afterward about our other businesse.

Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuitied by the report of them which first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobah* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chiefe speaker) wearied both vs his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration; deliuered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the vttermost strength of nature, and his wordes falling so thicke one in the necke of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soone as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reuerend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cryed *Oh*: thereby giuing their consents that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had vttered their minde by his mouth vnto vs; which done, the men laying downe their bowes vpon the hill, and leauing their women and children behinde them, came downe with their presents; in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselves happy that they might haue accesse vnto our Generall, but much more happy when they sawe that he would receiue at their hands those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt they thought themselves nearest vnto God when they sate or stood next to him. In the meane time the women, as if they had beene desperate, vsed vnnatural violence against themselves, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their breasts besides despoiling the vpper parts of their bodies of those single couerings they formerly had, and holding their hands about their heads that they might not rescue their breasts from harme, they would with furie cast themselves vpon the ground, neuer respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or

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whateuer else lay in their way, itterating the same course againe and againe; yea women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15 or 16 times (till their strengths failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselues: a thing more grievous for vs to see or suffer, could we haue holpe it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it. This bloudie sacrifice (against our wils) beeing thus performed, our Generall, with his companie, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prayers; and by signes in lifting vp our eyes and hands to heauen, signified vnto them that that God whom we did serue, and whom they ought to worship, was aboue: beseeching God, if it were his good pleasure, to open by some meanes their blinded eyes, that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him, the true and euerliuing God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the saluation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentiuely: and obseruing the end at euery pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, greatly reioycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to vs, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaab*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

Our Generall hauing now bestowed vpon them diuers things, at their departure they restored them all againe, none carrying with him anything of whatsoeuer hee had receiued, thinking themselues sufficiently enriched and happie that they had found so free accesse to see vs.

Against the end of three daies more (the newes hauing the while spread itselfe farther, and as it seemed a great way vp into the countrie), were assembled the greatest number of people which wee could reasonably imagine to dwell within any conuenient distance round about. Amongst the rest the king himselfe, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, viz., June 26, came downe to see vs.

Before his comming, were sent two ambassadors or messengers to our Generall, to signifie that their *Hiob*, that is, their king, was coming and at hand. They in the deliury of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about halfe an houre. Which being ended, they by signes made request to our Generall, to send something by their hands to their *Hiob* or king, as a token that his comming might be in peace. Our Generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy returne to their *Hiob*. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his traine came forward.

In their comming forwards they cryed continually after a singing manner, with a lustie courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards vs, so did they more and more strue to behaue themselues with a certaine comelinesse and grauity in all their actions.

*Narrative from  
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In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace, made of a certaine kind of blacke wood, and in leugth about a yard and a halfe, before the king. Where-upon hanged two crownes, a bigger and a lesse, with three chaines of a maruellous length, and often doubled, besides a bagge of the herbe *Tabab*. The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought vpon most curiously with feathers of diuers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion. The chaines seemed of a bony substance, euery linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the middest. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to wear the same; and euen they to whom its lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall vse, as some ten, some twelue, some twentie, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so thereby are they knowne to be the more honorable personages.

Next vnto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe with his guard about him; his attire vpon his head was a cawle of knitworke, wrought vpon somewhat like the crownes, but differing much both in fashion and perfectnesse of worke; vpon his shoulders he had on a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some hauing cawles likewise stucke with feathers, or couered ouer with a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the countrey vpon an herbe much like our lectuce, which exceeds any other downe in the world for sinesse, and beeing layed vpon their cawles, by no winds can be remoued. Of such estimation is this herbe amongst them, that the downe thereof is not lawfull to be worne, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to weare a plume of feathers on their heads, in signe of honour), and the seeds are not vsed but onely in sacrifice to their gods. After these, in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose haire being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stucke plumes of feathers; but in the forepart onely single feathers like hornes, euery one pleasing himselfe in his owne deuce.

This one thing was obserued to bee generall amongst them all, that euery one had his face painted, some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours, euery man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their traine or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, hauing within them diuers things, as bagges of *Tobab*, a roote which they call *Petab*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eate it rawe; broyled fishes, like a pilchard; the seede and downe afore-named, with such like.

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuffe, yet was it so

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cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brimmes they were hanged with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely vse of the gods they worshipped; and besides this, they were wrought vpon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into diuers workes and formes.

In the meane time, our Generall hauing assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger and worst that might fall out) prepared himselfe to stand vpon sure ground, that wee might at all times be ready in our owne defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

Wherefore euery man being in a warlike readinesse, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort), whereby if they had beene desperate enemies, they could not haue chosen but haue conceiued terror and fear, with discouragement to attempt anything against vs, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat neere vnto vs, trooping together, they gaue vs a common or generall salutation, obseruing in the meane time a generall silence. Whereupon, he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice what the other spake to him in secret, continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least halfe an houre. At the close whereof there was a common *Amen*, in signe of approbation, giuen by euery person: and the king himselfe, with the whole number of men and women (the little children onely remaining behind) came further downe the hill, and as they came set themselues againe in their former order.

And beeing now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto obserued a kind of measures in a dance: whom the king with his guard and euery other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our Generall perceiuing their plaine and simple meaning, gaue order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke. Where, after they had entred, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time, their women also following them with their wassaile boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with blood, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their comming.

After that they had satisfied, or rather tired themselues in this manner, they made signes to our Generall to haue him sit down; unto whom both the king and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather, indeed, if wee had vnderstood them, supplications, that hee

would take the Prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and their posterities: which that they might make vs indeed belecue that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, joyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offering vnto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyob*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not onely visited of the gods (for so they still judged vs to be), but the great and chiefe God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselves were become the onely happie and blessed people in the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the same, both for that he would not giue them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things), and chiefly for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enioy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and louing a people as they shewed themselves to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and euerliuing God.

The ceremonies of this resigning and receiuing of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, leauing the king and his guard about him, with our Generall, dispersed themselves among our people, taking a diligent view or suruey of euery man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of vs), they presently enclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them, crying out with lamentable shreokes and moanes, weeping and scratching and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes; neither were it the women alone which did this, but euen old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile in seducing these so harmlesse soules, and laboured by all meanes, both

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by shewing our great dislike, and when that serued not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift vp towards heauen) to the liuing God whom they ought to serue; but so mad were they vpon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not preuaile (for as soone as they could get liberty to their hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped were conueyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselves, they would with fury and outrage seeke to haue againe.

After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew and make knowne vnto vs their griefes and diseases which they carried about them; some of them hauing old aches, some shrunked sinewes, some old soares and canchred vlcers, some wounds more lately receiued, and the like; in most lamentable manner crauing helpe and cure thereof from vs; making signes, that if we did but blowe vpon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefes we could not but take pittie on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might vnderstand we were but men and no gods, we vsed ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and vnguents, most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to giue cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to vs.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from vs, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily euery third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainly vnderstood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort vnto vs in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-time forgate to provide meate for their owne sustenance; so that our Generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with such victualls as we had provided for our selues, as Muscles, Scales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to vs, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence vs with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced vpon vs, though it were neuer so necessarie or needfull for themselves to keepe.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and louing nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrowes (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they vse very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weaknesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrowes neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of



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body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the vse whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we obserued in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would neuer, or very seldome, misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a iourney vp into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. There houses were all such as we haue formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made seuerall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small: his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroad, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for the kings holidiaies coate was made of them.

This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also with our own country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set vpon monument of our being there, as also of her maiesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme poste; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuell there, and of the free giuing vp of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of six-pence currant English monie, shewing itselfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate; underneath was likewise engrauen the name of our Generall, etc.

The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the vtmost of their discoueries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, at the time of our departure was perceiued by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to

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themselves to increase vpon them, and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselves what they might doe; so that we might easily iudge that that ioy (being exceeding great) wherewith they receiued vs at our first arriual, was cleane drowned in their excessiue sorrow for our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, ioy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar reioicing one with another, and all pleasure what euer flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heauy hearts and grieved minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselves as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heauy a burthen, or to deliuer them from so desperate a strait, as our leauing of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enjoy our presence, they (supposing vs to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate vs that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole vpon vs a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not preuaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating vs in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heauen, as they saw vs do.

The 23 of *July* they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

Not far without this harborough, did lye certain Islands (we called them the Islands of Saint James) having on them plentifull and great supply of seals and birds, with one of which we fell, *July* 24. whereupon we found such provision as might competantly serve our turn for awhile: we departed the next day following, viz. *July* 25 and our General . . . bent his course to run with the *Moluccas*.

## 20 First Declaration made by John Drake

before ALONSO VERA Y ARAGON,

in the City of *Santa Fe*,

March 24, 1584.



ASKED to declare whither he had gone on the first voyage he made from England, he said that his name was John Drake and that he was a nephew of Francis Drake. He does not remember on what day he sailed with his uncle, but it was about seven years ago. They left the port of Plymouth which is about a hundred leagues from London, with five ships, their captain's vessel being of 120 tons. In all the fleet there was about 160 soldiers. They had a good supply of ammunition, provisions and artillery. The captain's ship carried 18 pieces; the Admiral's ship 11, and each of the others 12, of cast iron. They carried provisions for 18 or 20 months, Captain Francis Drake was sent by the Queen of England and her Council. The said Francis Drake is a native of Menguen, a hundred miles from London. He is a gentleman and carried with him ten gentlemen, one of whom was named Master Guillen [William Hawkins]. The admiral was named Master Ginter [Winter]; another Master Thomas and still another Master Doctor [Thomas Doughty] all natives of London. They were sent by the Queen to pass through the Strait of Magellan to the South Sea. . . . After leaving there they went to Cape Blanco where they took one Portugese ship, from which they took all her provisions of fish and four hundred weight of biscuit. . . . Then they returned and sailed to the bay of San Julian. He does not remember when they sailed. The entrance to said bay is a league wide and is curved. The inner country is very high and mountainous. They remained there for thirty days, making a provision of water, wood and sea-lions. The river that flows into this bay is two paces [pasos] wide. . . . It took them a month to reach said bay—sailing in the open sea, always towards the south not seeing a single vessel. In the bay of San Julian they stayed two months on account of bad weather and in order to repair the ships. The bay is one mile across and two miles long. In some parts it is four fathoms deep—in others two, and the surrounding coast is high. They saw seven or eight Indians who killed two Englishmen. They have much fresh water, but little wood. Thence they went to the strait without seeing land, taking 14 or 15 days, and sailing always southward. They cast anchor in the middle of the strait and entered it with three ships because the other one had been broken up in the Port of San Julian. In the said bay, because a gentleman named Master

*The First  
Declaration of  
John Drake*

Auter [Doughty] wished to mutiny with the men the said Captain Francis had him beheaded.

The mouth of the strait is ten leagues wide and on entering it land is visible on each side. It is a mountainous country. From the entrance to where they anchored for the first time in a depth of 100 fathoms, the distance was of eight or ten leagues. There were many wooded islands, with many birds. On account of calms and contrary currents it took them five days to get to where they anchored. In the mouth of the said strait there are ten fathoms of water, from there onwards there are thirty or forty, and, in some parts, sixty to one hundred. . . .

They noticed no Indians but saw smoke. Throughout the strait the shallowest parts were ten or fifteen fathoms deep. In the narrowest parts they found no bottom. The currents are not strong. Having disembogued into the South Sea, at the left hand side of the exit, twenty leagues to the south they entered a harbor in land inhabited by Indians of a middle stature. They remained there for fourteen days, with only the captain's ship, for, after having come into the South Sea one of the other two ships was lost in a storm and the other, turning back by the strait, went to England. To this day the captain of the latter ship [Winter] has been imprisoned because he turned back, and if he was not hanged it was because Captain Francis Drake interceded for him.

From the said harbor . . . they went to the island of Mocha on the coast of Chili with only the Captain's ship and fifty souls—of whom two were taken and the said Captain Francis was wounded. On the said island they were not able to take water and fuel because the Indians are warlike and fight with pikes and bows and arrows. Therefore they went to within two leagues of Valparaiso, where they landed. . . . In the said port they found a vessel at anchor and seized her on the following day. . . . In the said vessel there was a great quantity of wine, provisions and gold. On land they seized a quantity of wine, and with the said vessel they set out to sea, sending nine of her crew ashore, and taking two on the said vessel which was of 120 tons. . . . In the port of Arica they seized two vessels. From the one they took forty bars of silver. The other only contained wine and some provisions. They left both vessels and all the men. . . .

Thence they ran along the coast to Guatulco, taking on their way a vessel bound for Lima in which there travelled a gentleman named Don Francisco Zarate. . . . Declarant thinks that they took five or six bales of cloth and silk from a Flemish merchant who was on the ship, but from the said Don Francisco they took nothing. . . . They saw no other vessel till they reached Guatulco, where they found a vessel of 100 tons, laden with linen from Rouen and stuffs of different sorts; from which they only took four or five bales of cloth with some nails.

They then set sail with men of their own nation only. . . . He does not know what day they set sail from Guatulco, only that it

was in April. They sailed out at sea always to the northwest and the north-northwest the whole of April and May until the middle of June, from Guatulco which lies in 15 degrees north, until they reached 48 degrees north. On their voyage they met with great storms. All the sky was dark and full of mist. On their voyage they saw five or six islands in 46° and 48° north. Captain Francis gave the land that is situated in 48 degrees the name of New England. They were there a month and a half, taking in water and wood and repairing their ship. From there they went to the islands of the Ladrones.

*The Second  
Declaration of  
John Drake*

## **20 Second Declaration made before the Tribunal of the INQUISITION at LIMA on 8th of January, 1587.**

. . . They proceeded to the Port of Guatulco in which they found one vessel. They sent men on shore in the pinnace and they seized a Judge, a priest and others and brought them to the ship. After having taken in water and wood, and some stuffs that were in the said ship, Captain Francis released the aforesaid men and with them, the Portugese pilot, Sylvester whom we had taken before they had passed through the strait.

Then they left and sailed, always on a wind, in a north-west and north-north-westerly direction, for a thousand leagues until they reached forty-four degrees when the wind changed and he went to the Californias where he discovered land in forty-eight degrees. There he landed and built huts and remained for a month and a half, caulking his vessel. The victuals they found were mussels and sea lions. During the time many Indians came there and when they saw the Englishmen they wept and scratched their faces and drew blood, as though this were an act of homage or adoration. But Captain Francis told them not to do that, for the Englishmen were not God. These people were peaceful and did no harm to the English, but gave them no food. They are of the color of the Indians here [Peru] and are comely. They carry bows and arrows and go naked. The climate is temperate, more cold than hot. To all appearance it is a very good country. Here he caulked his large ship and left the ship he had taken in Nicaragua. He departed leaving the Indians to all appearance sad. From there he went alone with the said ship, taking the route to the Moluccas.



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would take the Prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and their posterities: which that they might make vs indeed belecue that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, joyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offering vnto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyob*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not only visited of the gods (for so they still judged vs to be), but the great and chiefe God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselves were become the onely happie and blessed people in the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the same, both for that he would not giue them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things), and chiefly for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enioy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and louing a people as they shewed themselves to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and cuerliuing God.

The ceremonies of this resigning and receiuing of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, leauing the king and his guard about him, with our Generall, dispersed themselves among our people, taking a diligent view or suruey of euery man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of vs), they presently enclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them, crying out with lamentable shreekes and moanes, weeping and scratching and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes; neither were it the women alone which did this, but euen old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile in seducing these so harmlesse soules, and laboured by all meanes, both

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by shewing our great dislike, and when that serued not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift vp towards heauen) to the liuing God whom they ought to serue; but so mad were they vpon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not preuaile (for as soone as they could get liberty to their hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped were conueyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselves, they would with fury and outrage seeke to haue againe.

After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew and make knowne vnto vs their griefes and diseases which they carried about them; some of them hauing old achcs, some shrunkke sinewes, some old soares and canchred vlcers, some wounds more lately receiued, and the like; in most lamentable manner crauing helpe and cure thereof from vs; making signes, that if we did but blowe vpon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefes we could not but take pittie on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might vnderstand we were but men and no gods, we vsed ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and vnguents, most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to giue cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to vs.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from vs, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily every third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainly vnderstood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort vnto vs in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-time forgate to prouide meate for their owne sustenance; so that our Generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with such victualls as we had prouided for our selues, as Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to vs, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence vs with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced vpon vs, though it were neuer so necessarie or needfull for themselves to keepe.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and louing nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrowes (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they vse very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weakenesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrowes neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of



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body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the vse whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we obserued in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would neuer, or very seldome, misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a iourney vp into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. There houses were all such as we haue formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made seuerall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small: his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroade, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnnes, for the kings holidiaics coate was made of them.

This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also with our own country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set vponment of our being there, as also of her maiesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme poste; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriual there, and of the free giuing vp of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of six-pence currant English monie, shewing itselfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate; underneath was likewise engrauen the name of our Generall, etc.

The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the vtmost of their discoueries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, at the time of our departure was perceiued by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to

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themselves to increase vpon them, and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselves what they might doe; so that we might easily iudge that that ioy (being exceeding great) wherewith they receiued vs at our first arriual, was cleane drowned in their excessiue sorrow for our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, ioy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar reioycing one with another, and all pleasure what euer flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heauy hearts and grieved minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselves as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heauy a burthen, or to deliuer them from so desperate a strait, as our leauing of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enjoy our presence, they (supposing vs to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate vs that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole vpon vs a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not preuaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating vs in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heauen, as they saw vs do.

The 23 of *July* they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hills to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

Not far without this harborough, did lye certain Islands (we called them the Islands of Saint James) having on them plentifull and great supply of seals and birds, with one of which we fell, *July* 24. whereupon we found such provision as might competantly serve our turn for awhile: we departed the next day following, viz. *July* 25 and our General . . . bent his course to run with the *Moluccas*.

## 20 First Declaration made by John Drake

before ALONSO VERA Y ARAGON,

in the City of *Santa Fe*,

March 24, 1584.



ASKED to declare whither he had gone on the first voyage he made from England, he said that his name was John Drake and that he was a nephew of Francis Drake. He does not remember on what day he sailed with his uncle, but it was about seven years ago. They left the port of Plymouth which is about a hundred leagues from London, with five ships, their captain's vessel being of 120 tons. In all the fleet there was about 160 soldiers. They had a good supply of ammunition, provisions and artillery. The captain's ship carried 18 pieces; the Admiral's ship 11, and each of the others 12, of cast iron. They carried provisions for 18 or 20 months, Captain Francis Drake was sent by the Queen of England and her Council. The said Francis Drake is a native of Menguen, a hundred miles from London. He is a gentleman and carried with him ten gentlemen, one of whom was named Master Guillen [William Hawkins]. The admiral was named Master Ginter [Winter]; another Master Thomas and still another Master Doctor [Thomas Doughty] all natives of London. They were sent by the Queen to pass through the Strait of Magellan to the South Sea. . . . After leaving there they went to Cape Blanco where they took one Portugese ship, from which they took all her provisions of fish and four hundred weight of biscuit. . . . Then they returned and sailed to the bay of San Julian. He does not remember when they sailed. The entrance to said bay is a league wide and is curved. The inner country is very high and mountainous. They remained there for thirty days, making a provision of water, wood and sea-lions. The river that flows into this bay is two paces [pasos] wide. . . . It took them a month to reach said bay—sailing in the open sea, always towards the south not seeing a single vessel. In the bay of San Julian they stayed two months on account of bad weather and in order to repair the ships. The bay is one mile across and two miles long. In some parts it is four fathoms deep—in others two, and the surrounding coast is high. They saw seven or eight Indians who killed two Englishmen. They have much fresh water, but little wood. Thence they went to the strait without seeing land, taking 14 or 15 days, and sailing always southward. They cast anchor in the middle of the strait and entered it with three ships because the other one had been broken up in the Port of San Julian. In the said bay, because a gentleman named Master

*The First  
Declaration of  
John Drake*

Auter [Doughty] wished to mutiny with the men the said Captain Francis had him beheaded.

The mouth of the strait is ten leagues wide and on entering it land is visible on each side. It is a mountainous country. From the entrance to where they anchored for the first time in a depth of 100 fathoms, the distance was of eight or ten leagues. There were many wooded islands, with many birds. On account of calms and contrary currents it took them five days to get to where they anchored. In the mouth of the said strait there are ten fathoms of water, from there onwards there are thirty or forty, and, in some parts, sixty to one hundred. . . .

They noticed no Indians but saw smoke. Throughout the strait the shallowest parts were ten or fifteen fathoms deep. In the narrowest parts they found no bottom. The currents are not strong. Having disembogued into the South Sea, at the left hand side of the exit, twenty leagues to the south they entered a harbor in land inhabited by Indians of a middle stature. They remained there for fourteen days, with only the captain's ship, for, after having come into the South Sea one of the other two ships was lost in a storm and the other, turning back by the strait, went to England. To this day the captain of the latter ship [Winter] has been imprisoned because he turned back, and if he was not hanged it was because Captain Francis Drake interceded for him.

From the said harbor . . . they went to the island of Mocha on the coast of Chili with only the Captain's ship and fifty souls—of whom two were taken and the said Captain Francis was wounded. On the said island they were not able to take water and fuel because the Indians are warlike and fight with pikes and bows and arrows. Therefore they went to within two leagues of Valparaiso, where they landed. . . . In the said port they found a vessel at anchor and seized her on the following day. . . . In the said vessel there was a great quantity of wine, provisions and gold. On land they seized a quantity of wine, and with the said vessel they set out to sea, sending nine of her crew ashore, and taking two on the said vessel which was of 120 tons. . . . In the port of Arica they seized two vessels. From the one they took forty bars of silver. The other only contained wine and some provisions. They left both vessels and all the men. . . .

Thence they ran along the coast to Guatulco, taking on their way a vessel bound for Lima in which there travelled a gentleman named Don Francisco Zarate. . . . Declarant thinks that they took five or six bales of cloth and silk from a Flemish merchant who was on the ship, but from the said Don Francisco they took nothing. . . . They saw no other vessel till they reached Guatulco, where they found a vessel of 100 tons, laden with linen from Rouen and stuffs of different sorts; from which they only took four or five bales of cloth with some nails.

They then set sail with men of their own nation only. . . . He does not know what day they set sail from Guatulco, only that it

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John Drake*

was in April. They sailed out at sea always to the northwest and the north-northwest the whole of April and May until the middle of June, from Guatulco which lies in 15 degrees north, until they reached 48 degrees north. On their voyage they met with great storms. All the sky was dark and full of mist. On their voyage they saw five or six islands in 46° and 48° north. Captain Francis gave the land that is situated in 48 degrees the name of New England. They were there a month and a half, taking in water and wood and repairing their ship. From there they went to the islands of the Ladrones.

**20** **Second Declaration made before the Tribunal  
of the INQUISITION at LIMA on 8th of January, 1587.**

. . . They proceeded to the Port of Guatulco in which they found one vessel. They sent men on shore in the pinnace and they seized a Judge, a priest and others and brought them to the ship. After having taken in water and wood, and some stuffs that were in the said ship, Captain Francis released the aforesaid men and with them, the Portuguese pilot, Sylvester whom we had taken before they had passed through the strait.

Then they left and sailed, always on a wind, in a north-west and north-north-westerly direction, for a thousand leagues until they reached forty-four degrees when the wind changed and he went to the Californias where he discovered land in forty-eight degrees. There he landed and built huts and remained for a month and a half, caulking his vessel. The victuals they found were mussels and sea lions. During the time many Indians came there and when they saw the Englishmen they wept and scratched their faces and drew blood, as though this were an act of homage or adoration. But Captain Francis told them not to do that, for the Englishmen were not God. These people were peaceful and did no harm to the English, but gave them no food. They are of the color of the Indians here [Peru] and are comely. They carry bows and arrows and go naked. The climate is temperate, more cold than hot. To all appearance it is a very good country. Here he caulked his large ship and left the ship he had taken in Nicaragua. He departed leaving the Indians to all appearance sad. From there he went alone with the said ship, taking the route to the Moluccas.



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